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LECTURES
ON THE
PHILOSOPHY
OF
MODERN HISTORY.

LECTURES
ON THE
PHILOSOPHY
OF
MODERN HISTORY,

DELIVERED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

BY GEORGE MILLER D. D. M. R. I. A.

**RECTOR OF DERRYVOYLAN, MASTER OF THE ROYAL SCHOOL
OF ARMAGH, AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY
COLLEGE DUBLIN, AND LECTURER ON
MODERN HISTORY.**

11732

A mighty maze, but not without a plan.

*Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall
on the ground without your Father.*

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

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ON THE

PHILOSOPHY

OF

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THE history of the revolutions of religious opinion has been generally considered as so essentially distinguished from the history of the changes of political society, that the student,

who is not particularly devoted to ecclesiastical enquiry, may content himself with a very imperfect knowledge of the causes by which the events of the former are produced, and of the circumstances by which they are variously modified: the principles by which man is directed in his intercourse with the supreme being, are supposed to have but little connection with those, which regulate his conduct in society; and for the purpose of general information it is thought sufficient that the former should be occasionally noticed, when they are observed to influence the interests of states. This conception of the character of political history has been formed from the narratives of Greece and Rome, in which religious principles have scarcely any operation, but is utterly unsuited to governments, in which the doctrines of a true religion are professed, and, however blended with error, and disregarded by depravity, are still generally respected as prescribing the obligatory rules of social conduct. In analysing the histories of Christian nations the principles of ecclesiastical changes are not merely among the objects to which our attention should be directed, but the paramount and controlling causes of the great revolutions of temporal policy; religious belief, though diversified by various influences, is among them the soul which gives animation and expression to the features of

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merely political society, and constitutes much of the distinctive characters of the several communities; and a history of Christendom, in which religion is not thus considered, can resemble only those casts, which are sometimes modelled from the faces of the dead, exhibiting but the forms of sunken and spiritless lineaments, and presenting no indication of the living agencies, by which they had once interested our affections.

This observation, common to all the countries of Christian Europe, is more particularly applicable to Germany, the country of the Reformation, and in the history of Germany more especially to the period, which constitutes the subject of the present lecture. Germany has been more than once mentioned as the appropriate organ, by which the combinations of a federative policy have been generated among the independent governments of Europe. It is well known to have been also the country, in which the great separation from the Romish church, distinguished by the name of the Reformation, was originally effected; but it is not sufficiently considered, how intimate was the connection between the political and the ecclesiastical operation, how important was the latter to the ultimate completion of the former. The balance of Europe, it will hereafter be shown, was in its origin chiefly supported by the struggle of the

two religious parties of the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, no other principle than that of religion then possessing sufficient influence over the minds of men, for maintaining among independent communities the necessary steadiness of political action. When therefore we would examine the history of Germany, as that of the country in which the federative policy of Europe was combined, we should search into the causes which rendered that country the immediate agent in generating a division of religious parties, without which the combinations of a federative policy would have been destitute of their most operative principle. These causes themselves exhibit a complex and curious organization, for the movements of religious reformation in Germany were not one simple effort of resistance opposed to ecclesiastical abuses, but various and independent exertions, differing among themselves in time and place and character, and connected only by their common rejection of the corruptions of the church of Rome.

Three distinct movements of reformation have been made in the German territories; the first in Bohemia, the second in Saxony, the third in Swisserland, anciently a district of Germany, and in the sixteenth century (*a*) nominally subject to the German crown, though enjoying a virtual independence. Peculiar cir-

cumstances disposed each of these countries separately to become the fit theatre of its peculiar struggle ; nor does it appear that the efforts of the Hussites exercised any influence in producing the resistance of Luther, or that the Saxon reformer can be regarded as having suggested the Helvetic defection from the Romish church. But though no direct connection can be discovered in these several movements, however relative to one common object, we may yet discover their combination in their tendencies towards a common end, not indeed of establishing the cause of the Protestants in an undisputed superiority, but rather of maintaining a balance between the two religions, by both providing a support for the old, and giving security and stability to the new faith. The common end then, towards which I conclude that the three movements were all directed, was, not the entire overthrow of popery, for which the European world could not be at once prepared, but the establishment of a balance of religious parties irreconcilably opposed ; and such an end required that some provision should be made for the support of the ancient opinions, as well as for the maintenance of the reformed doctrines.

The Bohemian effort of reformation, violent in its character, and after a furious struggle finally suppressed, appears, agreeably to such a

view, to have been the arrangement, by which the chiefs of the empire, though long opposed to the pretensions of the papal see, were driven into a close adherence to its cause, instead of yielding to the progress of the new opinions, like the kings of Denmark and of Sweden. The Saxon and the Helvetic reformation on the other hand, as they were peaceable in their character, and permanent in their establishment, were the supports of the cause opposed to that of Rome, with which they eventually maintained the political as well as the ecclesiastical balance. That there should thus have been two distinct origins of that religious reformation, which should effect a permanent establishment, appears to have been agreeable to the constitution of the human mind, which would require that every effort of improvement should be sustained by some countervailing principle of resistance, as in the structure of our bodies each muscle which gives movement to a limb, is opposed by another which is named its antagonist. The common opposition to the church of Rome might indeed be considered as supporting the general cause of reformation; but if that reformation were to contain within itself a corrective principle, and not to have a tendency towards the contrary extreme of rejecting even the essential articles of genuine Christianity, it seems that some interior opposition

was necessary within the reformed church itself, by which its principles might be rectified and conformed to the standard of religious truth. Such an opposition was accordingly supplied by the double origin of the Reformation, the Saxon and the Helvetic reformations having been not only separate and independent, but also essentially distinguished in the principles on which they were respectively established. Various peculiarities have been considered as characterising the two original churches of the Reformation, but the fundamental distinction appears to have been, that in the system of the Saxon reformer the direction was reserved to the ecclesiastics, whereas in that of the reformer of Swisserland the laity were permitted to interfere; the latter therefore may in a political view be regarded as having borne to the former the same relation, which a government compounded of an aristocracy and democracy, and inclining to the latter, bears to a simple aristocracy, the governed party enjoying in the Helvetic church a prevailing portion of the direction to which they were subjected. It is manifest that a system containing this strong infusion of a democratic principle, was well fitted to constitute the opposing member of the Reformation, while the other, which was exclusively aristocratic, was not less suited to maintain a general predominance. It should how-

ever be remembered that the acknowledged appeal to the authority of the sacred scriptures, with the utter rejection of all human tradition or dictation, drew a broad line of distinction between the consistories of the Lutherans and the councils of the Romish church.

In regarding the local and political circumstances of the German territories, as they were connected with the three several movements of the Reformation, in Bohemia, in Saxony, and in Switzerland, we may discover an extremely curious correspondence to the various tendencies, by which these several movements have been distinguished. For the efforts of Huss was provided a territory formed for a separate government by the natural demarcation of a mountainous boundary, yet in the immediate vicinity of that Austrian dominion, on which the violence of *its reformers* was to act, and by which it was finally to be reduced. The successful reformation of Luther was accommodated with the more distant, but considerable province of Saxony, in which, though the control of the imperial power was respectfully acknowledged, so much real independence was notwithstanding enjoyed, that the reformer was enabled to pursue his course without any inconvenient interruption, as on the other hand he was not driven to any violence of opposition. A situation different from both was allotted to Zuingle, the

reformer of Switzerland ; as his reformation was a system of greater freedom than that of Luther, the Helvetic provinces had been previously thrown off from the German empire, and, though in a nominal dependance, formed into a republican confederacy. Even this arrangement indeed was not the whole of the local and political combinations, by which this part of the Reformation was favoured and facilitated, for even a Swiss republic does not appear to have allowed a sufficient freedom for the entire developement of its energies. The Helvetic reformation was accordingly perfected in the little republic of Geneva, which, though near, was independent of the Swiss confederation ; which had been goaded by the misconduct of its bishop, its only ruler, to a strenuous resistance ; and which possessed a territory so very narrow, that Calvin was able to subject the whole state to the regulations of a system, that combined the political with the ecclesiastical authorities.

Such appear to have been the various ecclesiastical arrangements, by which Germany prepared the struggle of the two great parties of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, for maintaining the equilibrium of the political system of Europe, when it should have been devised and established. Other arrangements of a political nature were also required for rendering the country instrumental to the construction of

such a system, and these were all completed within the period considered in the present lecture.

Before the empire could be advantageously employed in constituting the federative relations of Europe, it was indispensable that its own domestic relations should have been reduced to order from the irregularity approaching to a lawless anarchy, in which it had almost lost the character of a single state ; for that which was itself involved in confusion, could scarcely become a useful instrument in effecting an orderly combination of the interests of independent governments. We accordingly observe within this period, that the diet was distributed into the three separate colleges of the electors, of the princes, and of the imperial cities ; that the right of the electors were regulated by the ordinance denominated the Golden Bull ; that the monstrous anomaly in politics, by which the members of the government retained the right of private war, was at length suppressed ; that the authority of law was supported by the permanent establishment of an imperial chamber ; and that the police of the empire was freed from irregularity by the distribution of its territory into the ten circles, of which it thenceforward continued to be composed. And as, when the period of the great struggle of religion should have arrived, it would be neces-

sary that the monarchy of the empire, which had become little more than an unavailing title, should be transformed into a vigorous and efficient authority, the new dynasty of Austria was previously placed upon the throne of Germany, and the power of its princea was very considerably augmented by two fortunate marriages, the former with the heiress of Burgundy, and the latter with the heiress of Castile.

The whole period of two hundred and eleven years, considered in the present lecture, naturally resolves itself into two parts, of which one, comprehending one hundred and twenty-nine years, was prior to the commencement of the Austrian dynasty, and the other, comprising eighty-two years, was subsequent to that event. In the former of these two periods, we might expect to find on the one hand the establishment of the independence of Swisserland, as the house of Austria, from which it was immediately emancipated, was not then supported by the power of the empire ; and on the other the religious movement of Bohemia, which has been described as tending to alienate the emperors from ecclesiastical reformation, and to attach them to the cause of the papacy, could best produce this effect by occurring before the establishment of the Austrian dynasty, when it might be carried to more alarming violence. In the latter period we might naturally look

for the measures which formed a more regular organization of the government of the empire, because the imperial authority was then strengthened by the accession of the hereditary dominions of a powerful family : and how well the two fortunate marriages, which afterwards so greatly enhanced the importance of that family, harmonized with the general series of events, is sufficiently apparent from the times in which they were respectively concluded, the alliance with the heiress of Burgundy having preceded the reformation of Luther by but thirty-nine, and that with the heiress of Castile by only twenty years.

The history of the Swiss confederacy will form the subject of the next lecture, and therefore on the present occasion I shall content myself with noticing the manner, in which the commencement and the progress of its formation were affected by the succession of the sovereigns of Germany. That revolution belongs to the subject of the present lecture, as it began the preparation of the theatre for the Helvetic reformation of religion ; it indeed preceded the Helvetic reformation by more than a century, but this interval, while it was accommodated to the circumstances of the German government, allowed time for the completion of the Swiss confederacy.

The Helvetic revolution * has been shown to have originated from the advancement of a Swiss family to the throne of the empire, the local pretensions of a petty noble having thus become the claims of the reigning family of Germany; and when this family had also become possessed of (b) the Austrian territories, the spirit of independence, which had been already excited by the apprehension of oppression, was driven to actual resistance by the experience of the calamities, which had been before but anticipated. If however the family of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh had continued to possess all the dignity and power, which it had thus attained, the contest might have had a very different termination; but the first Austrian emperor died as soon as he had given occasion to the struggle, and the Austrian dynasty did not commence until the revolution had been fully accomplished. The influence of this suspension of the Austrian succession was indeed manifested in the conduct of the two princes who next succeeded Albert the first Austrian emperor; for these † were careful to confirm the privileges of the three original cantons, which had revolted, and particularly to declare them exempt from the jurisdiction of the house of Austria, then a family of a secondary rank.

* Vol. 2. p. 459, 460. † General Table in Coxe's hist. of the House of Austria, vol. 1.

Nor was this the only arrangement relative to the Austrian family, which favoured the success of the Helvetic confederacy, for * from the death of Albert I. that family was divided into various branches, nor were the Austrian territories united under a single prince by the extinction of the other lines, until eight years had passed from the time, when the confederacy had been sufficiently confirmed.

Dismissing for the present the consideration of the history of Switzerland, let me now direct your attention to the other events, which distinguished the earlier part of the period of German history now under our consideration, and point out to you the manner in which they gradually prepared for its function, of forming the federative policy of Europe, this great member of the general system of European governments.

The reign of Henry VII, the immediate successor of Albert I, occupied but four years and a half, and seems to have been one of those intervals already noticed in the history of Germany, which permitted the government to recover some degree of vigour, after the shocks to which it was repeatedly exposed. This prince is described as † having distinguished himself before his exaltation by his extraordinary exertions for the support of public justice. and the pre-

* Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 466, 484.
p. 413.

† Schmidt, tome 4.

servation of the public tranquillity, though yet more by the courage and address which he had exhibited in the tournaments of the age. The circumstances also, in which he was advanced to the throne, were favourable to the internal quiet of his reign. The neighbouring kings of France had not only made a considerable progress in the establishment of their authority within their own kingdom, but also, by the establishment of a French dynasty in the south of Italy, had obtained a decisive ascendancy over the election of the Roman pontiff, and were thereby possessed of much of the influence which the papacy exercised over the affairs of Europe. But though this ascendancy of the French government, in the very same year in which Albert died, had caused the residence of the pontiff to be removed from Rome to the immediate vicinity of France, the pontiff saw too plainly the injurious tendency of the aggrandisement of his powerful protector, to place on the throne of Germany the brother of that prince, for whom the imperial dignity was solicited, and therefore * secretly promoted the election of Henry, for whom the approbation of the electors was readily obtained. Nor was the beneficial influence of this reign confined to the mere maintenance of the existing order, but it was also distinguished by an im-

* Schmidt, tome 4. p. 405.

provement in the form of the government, for
 * the states of the empire were then first distributed into the three separate colleges, of the electors, of (c) the princes, and of the imperial cities.

Henry VII. was succeeded by Lewis V, whose reign of thirty-three years is remarkable for having been the period of a renewed contest with the papacy, in which an emperor was for the last time attacked by a papal excommunication. A turbulent interregnum of four months, terminated only by the defeat and captivity of his competitor, a duke of Austria, announced the disturbances of the government of this prince, as it prepared a powerful party for the support of whoever might be his adversary. John XXII, the pontiff of his time, by † birth a Frenchman, was so entirely devoted to the interest of France, that he overlooked the danger to which the papacy would be exposed, if the sovereign of this country were also the chief of the empire, and when in his resentment against Lewis, who had protected the duke of Milan against the papal legate, he laboured to effect the deposition of this prince, endeavoured to transfer his dignity to the king of France. Claiming (d) the right of examin-

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* Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 46.

† Schmidt, tome 4.

p. 445, 448, 449.

ing a contested election, and of approving or rejecting the prince who had been elected, he condemned Lewis for having without his approbation assumed the title of king of the Romans; and arrogating also to the see of Rome the right of administering the imperial government during a vacancy of the throne, he condemned him likewise for having exercised the imperial dignity, and more particularly for having supported the enemies of the church. Lewis, having disregarded the orders of the pope, by which he was directed to abdicate the empire, and to submit himself to the judgment of the papal see, was declared to be deprived of all the rights of his election, and subjected to the penalties of excommunication. The emperor did not immediately yield to the haughty pretensions of the pontiff, but * repeatedly appealed from his decisions to a future council, and availed himself of (*e*) disputes which had arisen in regard to the Franciscan monks, to charge him with favouring heretics, and with maintaining heretical opinions; at length however he gave way, though apparently without necessity, and sent several embassies to the papal court of Avignon, descending from one humiliation to another, even to a proposal of abdicating his crown in favour of his cousin:

This struggle, however similar in some res-

* Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 496.

pects to those which had before occurred between the imperial and the papal power, was yet very different from them in regard both to its circumstances and its consequences. In former contests the imperial power was considerable, but the minds of the people were not prepared for resisting the pretensions of the papacy; and the consequences of these contentions were that the imperial power was degraded, and that the aristocracy of Germany was aggrandised: on this occasion the imperial power had been previously almost annihilated, but the minds of the Germans revolted against the extravagance of the papal claims; and the operation of the contest therefore affected the papal supremacy, not the interior relations of the German government. Though * Lewis himself appears to have been uncertain, whether he should regard the papal censure as authorised and operative, the † nation in general was indignant at the manner in which the pontiff sported with their scruples to accommodate the political designs of France; and the electors were likewise so much alarmed for their own particular rights, which must have perished with the independence of the empire, that in the year 1338 they asserted this independ-

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* Schmidt, tome 4. p. 501, 508. † Ibid. p. 509, 511,
527, 528.

ence in a formal ordinance, which was in the next confirmed by a diet. So strongly indeed did the electors disapprove the submissive conduct of the emperor, that Lewis was required to abdicate the crown which he had thus debased, and, when he had refused to resign it to any other than his own son, he received this severe rebuke, "under thy reign, Bavarian, the empire has been so much (*f*) enfeebled, that we must take care for the future, not to entrust it to a Bavarian." As the reign of Lewis put an end to the pretensions of the papacy against the empire, so * with his reign expired the imperial authority in Italy: the embarrassing combination of the two countries had produced its full effect in relaxing the organization of the Germanic constitution, and the time was approaching in which it was expedient, that the removal of all reciprocal pretensions should permit the imperial and the papal powers to unite their interests for the support of the existing institutions against the party of the Reformation.

As soon as the mutual claims of these two authorities had been thus extinguished, a king of Bohemia was placed on the imperial throne, an event which had a direct bearing on that unsuccessful effort of religious reformation, of which his country was sixty-one years after-

* Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 507.

wards the theatre. As the Bohemian reformation has been described as serving to attach the imperial authority to the support of the papacy, this advancement of a Bohemian prince to the imperial dignity, which connected the local disturbances of Bohemia with the general interests of the empire, naturally followed the suppression of the ancient hostility, which through ages had alienated the imperial and papal powers. Lewis V. was succeeded by Charles IV, grandson of the emperor Henry VII, and king of Bohemia in right of his mother, a princess of that country. Of this prince, who reigned thirty-one years, it * has been remarked that, while he left Germany in a situation much worse in many respects than that in which he had found it, he steadily pursued the aggrandisement of his family, and (*g*) the improvement and enlargement of his hereditary dominions, even subjecting some parts of the empire itself to the authority of his Bohemian crown: among the benefits which he bestowed on his hereditary dominions it must be particularly noticed, that in the year 1349 he founded, after the model of that of Paris, the (*h*) university of Prague, in which, at the end of half-a-century, John Huss began his opposition to the church of Rome. And though in his reign the relaxation of the imperial government continued to encrease, yet

† Schmidt, tome 4. p. 546—550.

it was distinguished by (i) an important regulation called the Golden Bull, by which the number, rank, rights, and the succession of the electors were determined, and the imperial elections were protected from the pretensions of the pontiff, founded upon the divisions of the electors. In framing this regulation * he was probably influenced by a desire of transferring the whole power of the empire by degrees to the electoral college, of which, as the king of Bohemia, he was himself a member; and for this purpose it seems that the Golden Bull proposed, that this college should be annually assembled. While he thus augmented the importance of the electors, he very considerably diminished that of the imperial dignity: he † completed the dissipation of the imperial revenues, probably in the hope that the electors might be necessitated to continue that dignity in his family, as alone able to sustain its majesty; and ‡ he suffered the judicial authority of the crown to sink wholly into disuse, partly by residing in Bohemia, and thereby losing the concurrent jurisdiction which his predecessors had exercised in their progresses through Germany, and partly by lavishing on the states the privilege by which they were exempted from any external judicature.

* Schmidt, tome 4. p. 570. † Pfeffel, tome 1.
p. 536, 537. ‡ Ibid.

Charles IV, after a reign of thirty-one years, was succeeded by his son Wenceslaus, also king of Bohemia, who twenty-two years afterwards was deposed from the imperial throne for neglect of the interests of the empire. Wenceslaus indeed began his government of the empire in circumstances, which corresponded to its disastrous termination. His father having * in the latter part of his reign exacted enormous sums from the cities of Suabia, gave occasion to a grand confederation or league of that province, which was probably formed in imitation of the Helvetic union; and † his artful policy and restless avidity having also excited all Germany against him, he bequeathed to his son a discontented empire. The dissatisfaction, which had been thus excited by Charles, was exasperated by the conduct of Wenceslaus. The father, who ‡ had attempted the reformation of the clergy, had desisted through an apprehension of the intrigues of the pope, who urged the electors to depose him; yet the son, not § instructed by his example, repeated the dangerous effort: the animosity also, which || Charles had excited between the princes and the imperial cities, and which had given being to several formidable confederations, was revived; and

* Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 534, Schmidt, tome 4. p. 599.

† Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 538. ‡ Ibid. p. 526.

§ Ibid. p. 538. || Ibid. p. 542, 543.

Wenceslaus, unable to dissolve these combinations by his authority, found it necessary to play them against each other, and thereby hastened the commencement of direct hostilities. But these very struggles, however inconsistent with the present tranquillity of the empire, were instrumental to its ultimate adjustment, as Wenceslaus, for * the purpose of dissolving the several particular confederations, began in the year 1387 that distribution of the empire into circles, which was completed after twenty-five years by Maximilian I. His reign was however brought to an abrupt conclusion, for one † of the two pontiffs who then divided the church, being irritated by the loss of the support which Wenceslaus had hitherto given him, excited against that prince the ecclesiastical electors, already dissatisfied with his constant residence in Bohemia, and he was (1) under various frivolous pretences deposed from his imperial dignity.

Wenceslaus was succeeded by Robert, the elector-count palatine, who held the government during ten years, during which he was, as Pfeffel ‡ has observed, but a phantom on the throne ; and his government, as Schmidt § has remarked, afforded the best justification of the conduct of Wenceslaus, since with all his active exertions and good dispositions he had almost

* Pfeffel, tome 1, p. 541. † Ibid. p. 548, 549.

‡ Ibid. p. 562. § Tome 5. p. 46.

experienced a similar degradation. Indeed * he was even forced to relinquish the distribution of the circles, which had been begun by his predecessor, a league formed in the year 1405 by the principal states and cities of Suabia having compelled him to permit its continuance, and to acknowledge that the states had a right to enter into such associations without the consent of the emperor. He died in the year 1410, and the deposed Wenceslaus, who survived him, enjoyed the † satisfaction of seeing that Germany had made no progress under his government, and in respect to the attempted arrangement of the circles had even become retrograde.

Robert was succeeded by Sigismond king of Hungary, the brother of Wenceslaus, who resigned in his favour his own pretensions to the imperial dignity, and on whose death, which occurred nine years afterwards, he became also king of Bohemia. The reign of this prince was similar in its influence on the German government to that of Wenceslaus. Occupied by a war with the Venetians, he even delayed for some years to take possession of his new dignity, and he was afterwards almost continually engaged in those ecclesiastical movements by which Christendom, and Germany in particular, was then agitated, as the great revo-

* Pfeffel, tome I. p. 559. † Schmidt, tome 5. p. 80.

lution of the sixteenth century became less distant. In his reign accordingly * it began to be very difficult to assemble the imperial diet, the emperor himself rarely coming at the appointed time ; and these assemblies lost much of their authority, when he adopted a practice of delegating commissioners to represent his person, or of summoning the states to meet in distant places, as at Vienna, or in Hungary.

With the reign of Sigismond was concluded that part of the period of time considered in this lecture, which preceded the commencement of the dynasty of Austria, an interval in which, while something was effected for the establishment of order, the combination of the empire was however in a considerable degree relaxed. Such a relaxation appears to have been directly instrumental to these two grand functions of the German government, that of generating for Europe a system of federative policy, and that of affording a secure shelter to the Reformation. When the parts of the government had been rendered almost independent, though still mutually connected in an orderly arrangement, the interior policy of the empire was itself almost transformed into a federative system, and thereby qualified for introducing the relations of such a system among the independent governments of Europe ; these

* Schmidt, tome 5. p. 202.

could form connections with the several members of a government so imperfectly combined, and the whole of Europe might thus be comprehended in an extended system of relations, of which the Germanic constitution should be as it were the central nucleus. Nor could the Reformation have been effected in a government more perfectly combined, so long as the sovereign maintained his connection with the papal see. It may indeed be believed that a country so long, and so severely harassed by the papal pretensions, might have sought its safety in a general secession, in which case the reformed religion might not have been necessitated to seek for protectors, or to exert any efforts of resistance: but in this case the Reformation itself would probably have run into excess through the want of a salutary restraint, and it is at least certain that a balance would not have been formed between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, which appears to have been indispensable to the entire development of a federative system.

It is obvious that the advancement of the king of Bohemia and Hungary to the imperial dignity, which, if (*m*) we include the period of the degradation of Wenceslaus, continued through a series of ninety years, must have been favourable to the growing independence of the German states, as the attention of these princes

must have been so much engaged by the interests of their hereditary dominions, that they could not much obstruct the encreasing pretensions of the subjects of their elective crown. This part however of the succession of the German emperors had also a direct and special relation to that early movement of the Reformation, of which Bohemia was the theatre, first in preparing that country for the effort, and afterwards in engaging the empire to give it opposition.

Of Charles IV, the first of these princes, it has been already noticed, that he assiduously prosecuted the aggrandisement of his hereditary kingdom at the expense of the domains and prerogatives of his imperial dignity, and that he instituted that university, in which Huss began to protest against the abuses of the church of Rome. When Charles had in a long reign of thirty-one years improved the country, in which the efforts of the adversaries of Rome were soon to be exerted, and established that very school of learning, in which the early reformers acquired the power of detecting and exposing the errors of a corrupted hierarchy, he was succeeded by Wenceslaus, whose blended character of good and of censurable qualities was in all its composition favourable to their cause. The special bearing indeed of the reign of this Bohemian king, considered as an em-

peror, appears to have been that it afforded a convenient opportunity for the full establishment of the Helvetic confederacy, which was effected ten years after he had been advanced to the throne of the empire: twelve years afterwards however he was deposed from that throne, and in his sole government of Bohemia he gave to the adversaries of Rome both direct and indirect encouragement, for while * his carelessness and intemperance allowed a free opportunity for these in common with other discontented persons, the distractions of his unhappy reign giving them ample liberty for combining and strengthening their associations, he was disposed † by his integrity and understanding, for which his habits of ebriety have hindered him from obtaining sufficient credit, to countenance exertions so manifestly justified by the prevailing abuses.

When preparation had been made by Charles IV. for the efforts of the Bohemian reformers, and these efforts had received so much encouragement from the good and the bad qualities of his successor, the throne of the empire was occupied by Sigismond king of Hungary, the brother of Wenceslaus, and after him king also of Bohemia. This is an extremely curious part of the combination of these arrangements, and

* Coxe's hist. of Austria, vol. 1. p. 172.

† Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 538, 546.

deserves to be considered with peculiar attention. Wenceslaus, deposed from the imperial dignity, in which his carelessness and estrangement had, at this time suffered the Helvetic confederacy to be completed, was thenceforward limited to the concerns of his Bohemian kingdom, and therefore freed from the embarrassment of the external interests of a station, which must have rendered him dependent on the pontiff, since the latter was even able to effect his degradation through the ecclesiastical electors. If however such an arrangement had been longer continued, Bohemia might have separated from the see of Rome, without communicating any such agency to the empire, as should have disposed its sovereign to connect himself with the pontiff. It was accordingly changed at the death of Wenceslaus, for we observe him succeeded by a king of Hungary, who had previously been placed on the throne of the empire. Into Hungary no principle of separation from the church of Rome appears to have penetrated; placed near the frontier of Christian Europe, and therefore engaged in frequent conflicts with the adversaries of Christendom, its people neither enjoyed leisure, nor felt any inclination, to question the purity of the established system of religion. Though Sigismond himself, like Wenceslaus, was desirous of promoting a reformation, and with this design had caused to be

convened at Constance the celebrated council, which established the important principle, that the authority of the assembled priesthood is superior to that of the pontiff, yet as king of a country such as Hungary, he must have felt himself compelled to restrain his desire of correcting the abuses of religion, and as the elective sovereign of the empire, he must have felt himself yet more directly exposed to the attacks of the papacy. Controlled by these circumstances he disgraced himself by suffering the safe-conduct, which he had granted to John Huss for appearing before the council of Constance, to be shamefully violated by that assembly; the Bohemians, exasperated at the treacherous execution of the reformer, and at the renewed cruelty of the death of his zealous friend and adherent Jerome of Prague, flew to arms under the conduct of John of Trosnow, surnamed Ziska; and the very emperor, whose weakness or perfidy they execrated, just at this time by the death of Wenceslaus acquired the legitimate title to the inheritance of the Bohemian crown, as if for the precise purpose of committing the sovereign of the empire with the reformers of Bohemia in the most violent hostility. The bloody struggle lasted fifteen years, and three years after its termination the death of Sigismond made room for the new dynasty of Austria.

That this emperor should have been a king of Hungary had however another important bearing, besides those in which his estrangement from the empire favoured the encreasing relaxation of the German government, and committed that government in the cause of Rome. Though the Turks had not yet crushed the eastern empire by the reduction of Constantinople, which was not taken until the year 1453, they began in the reign of Sigismond to make attempts on the provinces of that prince, and he was more than once occupied in combating them on the frontiers of Hungary. On these occasions the Turkish hostilities * diverted him from acting against the insurgents of Bohemia, and thus allowed the religious dissensions of that country to proceed with less interruption. It will be seen that when Germany was occupied with the struggles of the reformation of Luther, the efforts of the Protestants were critically favoured by the inroads of the same nation, which then threatened the safety even of the empire: on the present occasion, as the disturbance was confined to Bohemia, it was sufficient that the sovereign was diverted by the inroads which infested his own kingdom of Hungary. In both cases the hostilities of the Turks exhibited peculiar examples of that principle of external compression, which is a most

* Schmidt, tome 5. p. 146, 156.

powerful agent in promoting the interior operations of society; in the one by protecting the Hussites from being too speedily reduced by Sigismond, in the other by enabling the Lutherans to establish their religious independence notwithstanding all the power and resources of Charles V.

Moravia (*n*), and afterwards Bohemia, were * converted to the Christian religion by two Greek monks, Methodius and Cyrillus Constantinus, who had been sent into these countries by the empress Theodora and her son the emperor Michael about the middle of the ninth century. It appears that a century after the introduction of Christianity the first bishop of Prague was received from Germany, by which event a connection was begun with the church of Rome; and that in the eleventh century Bohemia was divided between the religious usages of the eastern and western church, the communication with Germany bringing over the upper classes of society continually more and more to the system of Rome, while the common people adhered to that of Greece. At length in the year 1176 the (*o*) Waldenses, who even in that early and ignorant period protested against the gross and manifold abuses of a cor-

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* Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle, par Lenfant, tome 1. liv. 1. Amst. 1731

rupted hierarchy, flying from the persecutions of the French government, sought refuge in other parts of Europe, and especially in Bohemia, in which country they were well received, and their doctrine made a considerable progress. From this detail it appears that strong predispositions to a separation from the Romish church existed in Bohemia. The Grecian form of Christianity, which was first known among them, had habituated them to two practices, by both which they were alienated from the religion of Rome ; as members of the Greek church they had been allowed to perform their worship in their own language, which was that of the Slavian nations, and their laity had also, in the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, received from the priests the wine as well as the bread : the former of these usages had indeed been abrogated by Gregory VII. in the year 1079 ; but the sacramental wine was probably not (*p*) withdrawn from them until the middle of the fourteenth century, when the emperor Charles IV, having founded the university of Prague, invited to it the doctors of Germany, France, and Italy, who declaimed against the practice of communicating *under both kinds*, as an error of the Greeks. The spirit of the Bohemians however did not sink under the injunctions of Rome ; their ancient alienation from the usages of that church having been strength-

ened by the accession of the Waldenses ; and even down to the time of John (*q*) Huss they continued to celebrate the holy communion in their original manner, first in private houses, and afterwards armed in the woods.

The reformer of Bohemia had been educated in the new university of Prague, of which he was afterwards constituted rector, but derived his principles of reformation from the writings of the English Wicliffe, which had been recently brought into that country, and were by him translated into the Bohemian language. Excited * by the precepts and the example of Wicliffe, he began to preach against the corruptions of the clergy, and some of his followers inculcated the duty of communicating under both kinds, though Huss himself, while he held it to be legitimate and useful, appears not to have thought this absolutely necessary. The council of Constance alarmed by tenets, which struck at the temporal greatness of the clergy, summoned Huss to appear before them ; protected by the safe-conduct of the emperor Sigismond, the reformer attended that assembly to give an account of (*r*) his doctrine ; and in violation of that safe-conduct, on the avowed principle that (*s*) faith was not to be observed with heretics, he was there committed to the flames,

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* Lenfant, liv. 5.

as was his friend Jerome in the succeeding year. The perfidious violence practised against Huss served however but to animate his followers; and when * three years afterwards a papal legate visited Bohemia for the purpose of repressing them by force, the measure of their indignation was full, and Ziska, a Bohemian gentleman, undertook (†) with an armed force to avenge the death of the reformer, and that of Jerome, by a war against (‡) the clergy and the monks. To provide a strong hold for his numerous partisans he caused lines to be drawn round the summit of a mountain, which † are said to have been the first essay of the modern art of fortification; the mountain he named Tabor, in allusion to that mentioned by the same name in the sacred writings.

The reformers of Bohemia were from this time a party animated to the utmost excesses of violence and cruelty, which continued to be practised during the fifteen years of the Hussite war. Whatever might have been the provocations, by which the people were exasperated, a real and permanent reformation of religion could scarcely be conceived to have been practicable in such circumstances. It cannot therefore be deemed surprising that this attempt to renounce the errors of Rome should have proved abortive, and that it should have even

* Lenfant, liv. 6. † Cox's Austria, vol. 1. p. 178.

tended to confirm in the cause of the papacy the sovereign, who beheld a part of his dominions the scene of so much violence. But the Hussites, in the final ruin of their cause, were not the victims merely of the excesses to which they had allowed themselves to be stimulated ; for there was in their opinions an original diversity, which soon divided them into two parties, and enabled the Romish party to acquire a superiority over both. The * Calixtines, so denominated from the chalice, for the free participation of which in the administration of the Lord's Supper they (*v*) chiefly contended, were not desirous of any considerable change in the established religion, and were even disposed to be reconciled to the Roman pontiff: but the Taborites insisted that the papal authority should be entirely renounced, and that a new church should be formed according to the primitive simplicity of the Gospel, to be guided by divine impulse ; and with these principles were combined various others, which asserted the duty of inflicting an unrelenting vengeance on the adversaries of genuine religion, and that all temporal dominion was to be superseded by the immediate government of Jesus Christ. Of these two parties the former appears to have been derived from the Grecian usages of the earlier church of Bohemia, and the latter to

* Coxe's *Austria*, vol. 1. p. 179. Lenfant, tome 1. p. 137.

have been formed of the fugitive Waldenses. Sigismond availed himself of their dissension to oppose the one party to the other. The Hussites having been invited to send deputies to the council of Basle for the purpose of effecting an accommodation, the proposal, which was rejected by the Taborites, was accepted by the Calixtines; and the latter, having been indulged by the council in regard to the general use of the sacramental cup, were enlisted against their former allies, who were by their assistance speedily reduced.

Though Bohemia received the knowledge of Christianity from Grecian monks, and was thus from the beginning prepared for an effort of separation from the Romish church, the adjacent kingdom of Hungary, however nearer to Greece, was proselyted to the Christian religion as professed by the church of Rome, and was thus on the other hand originally disposed to adhere to the cause of the papacy in opposition to the Bohemian reformers. The * first introduction of the knowledge of Christianity among the Hungarians was the work of the policy of Charlemagne, by whom the country had been reduced as far as the Raab: what was thus begun by the western emperor, was completed by Stephen the duke of Hungary, who in the year 1000 assumed the royal instead of the

* *Revol. de Hongrie*, liv. 1. Haye 1739.

ducal title, and sought in the support of the Roman pontiff a confirmation of his newly-acquired dignity: and the pontiff, gratified by an application which flattered his love of supremacy, rewarded the Hungarian prince with favours, which bound him and (w) his successors to the support of the hierarchy, not only permitting the king of Hungary to cause a cross to be borne before him, in testimony of the apostolic character, but also allowing him the more substantial privilege of administering all the concerns of the Hungarian church, as the deputy of Rome. In a country thus circumstanced no principle of ecclesiastical separation existed, for the people had learned only the established religion, and the sovereign must have been disposed to maintain the existing order of the church as the best security of his own authority. When therefore Sigismond, the second son of the emperor Charles IV, married the heiress of Hungary, he formed a connection which attached him firmly to the cause of the hierarchy, and when he afterwards succeeded to the crown of Bohemia on the death of his brother Wenceslaus, he was (x) unavoidably opposed to the reformers of his new kingdom.

Hungary, which had been constituted a kingdom, as has been mentioned, in the year 1000, had reached its greatest aggrandisement before

the middle of the fourteenth century, at which time it possessed as dependent provinces Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Transylvania, Ladomeria, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Moldavia, and Walachia. Lewis I, who then succeeded to this great dominion, displayed qualities so estimable, that Casimir king of Poland caused him to be chosen to succeed himself on the throne of that country, and Poland thus became united with Hungary under the same sovereign; this prince however died without male issue, and Hungary descended to Sigismond, who had been betrothed to (y) his daughter, while the Poles elected another prince, and dissolved the connection of the two countries. Thus was Hungary combined with the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Bohemia, just at the time when it was in its most prosperous condition, and could most effectually serve to attach the imperial dignity to the cause of its ancient adversary the papal power, in opposition to the Bohemian reformers. It should also be remarked that this exterior power appears to have been raised also just at the time, when it was necessary for checking the progress of the Turks, the empire being yet neither able to oppose a sufficient resistance, nor in such a state that the development of its domestic policy might be assisted by so rude an interposition.

As the Hussite war was concluded before

the termination of the reign of Sigismond, the same reason did not continue to exist for the combination of Hungary, nor indeed of Bohemia, with the imperial dignity; and accordingly they were both speedily detached, but not until they had formed a temporary connection with the commencing dynasty of the Austrian princes, by which they might (z) at the expiration of eighty-six years, become permanently dominions of the reigning family of Germany, when the extended and complicated combinations of the age of Charles V. should require such an adjustment of political interests. Albert II. duke of Austria, having married the daughter of Sigismond, who left no male issue, succeeded him in all his dignities. The reign of this emperor however did not quite comprehend two entire years, and served but to introduce to the throne that series of Austrian princes, by which it continued to be held to (aa) the year 1740. Supported indeed as this emperor was by the united power of territories so extensive, and * eminently endowed with the talents and virtues of a sovereign, he would probably have effected an entire revolution in the empire, if a premature death had not removed him from the throne in the second year of his reign. His transitory government therefore was a mere commencement of a new

* Pfeffel, tome 2. p. 8.

dynasty ; he was not indeed succeeded on the throne of the empire by any lineal descendant, but by his cousin, while a posthumous son, named Ladeslaus, became king of Hungary and Bohemia, and thus became instrumental in detaching these kingdoms from the imperial dignity.

The remainder of that portion of the German history, which I proposed to consider in this lecture, is occupied by the reigns of Frederic III. and Maximilian I, the former of whom enjoyed the imperial dignity fifty-three and the latter twenty-six years. This was a most important period of the constitutional history of the empire, as in it was at length accomplished the abolition of (*bb*) the practice of private hostilities, a practice even repugnant to the very notion of a political society, though it had been useful in maintaining the distinctness of the members of the empire ; and the good order of the government was secured by (*cc*) the permanent establishment of an imperial chamber for the administration of justice, and by (*dd*) the completion of the distribution of the empire into its ten circles for the regulation of the police. Nor was its importance confined to improvements of interior regulation : in the former of these two reigns, by the marriage of the son of Frederic with the heiress of Burgundy, the Low Countries with Franche Comté were ac-

quired to the reigning family; and in the latter, by the marriage of the son of Maximilian with the heiress of Castile and Aragon, the immense possessions of the Spanish government were added to the other territories possessed by the princes of Austria. A period thus doubly important to the empire formed an apt preparation for that great revolution, which, while it rejected the abuses of a corrupted hierarchy, and asserted the independence of the human mind, provided also the grand principle of political division, by which the federative system of Europe was afterwards adjusted. Luther accordingly three years before its conclusion began the Reformation.

The two emperors were well accommodated to the circumstances in which they respectively acted. Frederic III. * has been described to us as a prince who loved tranquillity; and the reign of such a prince, who resided in a distant quarter of the empire, must have been particularly fitted to allow the public agitations to subside into an orderly adjustment without interruption from the sovereign. He spared no exertions for the maintenance of peace; but in general he endeavoured to attain his end either by opposing one party of the turbulent to another, or by contriving to gain time: and it has been remarked by Schmidt, that another

* Schmidt, tome 5. p. 229, 230.

plan of government, and an emperor of more (ee) power and activity, would have plunged Germany into general anarchy and confusion. The restless activity of Maximilian, directed as it was to foreign enterprises, was on the other hand suited to prepare the foreign relations of the empire, when its domestic arrangements had been nearly reduced to order in the long reign of his father. Inconstant in his own disposition, and ill supported by the empire, he was unsuccessful in his military efforts; but he managed his negotiations with ability, and while he completed the plans of Frederic for securing the internal tranquillity of the government, he (ff) prepared the combinations of that political importance in the system of Europe, which was asserted by the empire in the succeeding reign of Charles V.

The German constitution had at the close of this period received all the adjustment, of which it appears to have been susceptible consistently with its character of a federative government. Besides that the arrangement of the diets had been regulated by the distribution of the three distinct colleges of the electors, the princes, and the imperial cities; that the number and the rights of the electors had been ascertained by the Golden Bull; and that the interior tranquillity of the empire was at length secured by the abolition of private war, by the

permanent establishment of the imperial chamber, and by the distribution of the circles ; it had * at this time become an established principle to choose the emperors always from the same family. The practice of electing the emperors out of the same family, by which the crown became in effect hereditary, was introduced by Charles IV, who in the year 1376 (*gg*) procured his son Wenceslaus to be elected king of the Romans ; and it was favoured by the ruin of the imperial finances, which rendered it necessary to choose an emperor, who should be enabled by his own resources to maintain his dignity.

In this adjustment indeed there were great imperfections and irregularities. The † imperial cities had been admitted to the deliberations of the empire from the latter part of the thirteenth century, and early in the fourteenth assumed, as I have remarked, the rank of a distinct member of the public assemblies ; but the feudal constitution of the German government limited this admission of a third state to those cities, which were immediately subject to the imperial authority, leaving without any representation the other cities, and the remainder of the commons, though forming a body incomparably more numerous. Imperfectly however as the diets represented the nation, the mischief

* Schmidt, tome 6, p. 18. † Ibid. tome 6, p. 31. 32.

was at least in some degree corrected by a similar irregularity affecting the electoral college, and hindering it from engrossing the power of the government : there were families not comprehended among the electors, which were much more considerable than those included in the electoral college ; and Bohemia, which possessed an importance superior to that of any other electorate, declined after the reign of Charles IV. on account of the troubles occasioned by the preaching of Huss. It should also be considered that, as a less perfect adjustment of the constitution would have been insufficient for the attainment of internal tranquillity, so one more complete must have tended to combine its several parts into a single system of policy, and to destroy the federative character of the empire. The German constitution has been sarcastically described as “ a chaos supported by a particular providence ;” but Mably (*hh*) has pointed out the source of the misconception, and has taught us to appreciate more justly the political system of this country, by referring it to the class of federal combinations, rather than to that of single governments. Such a constitution indeed properly belonged to Germany as a member of the complex system of European states, among which it appears to have introduced the relations of a federative policy ; and to this apparent

destination reference should be made in forming our judgment of its adaptation.

(a) The independence of Switzerland was first formally acknowledged in the treaty of Westphalia, concluded in the year 1648.

(b) These consisted of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; but Carinthia, which had been included in the investiture, granted by Rhodolph to his son Albert, was afterwards, with the approbation of his sons, resumed by Rhodolph, and granted to Meinhard of Tyrol, to whom he had promised a reward for his services. Coxe's Austria, vol. 1. p. 51.

(c) The privileges of a prince of the empire, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, consisted of a right of voting in the diet, and of that of establishing provincial laws. Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 474.

(d) Innocent III. had first claimed this right of examining and approving the election of the emperor. Schmidt, tome 4. p. 451.

(e) Schmidt, tome 4. p. 456. The Franciscans, who disclaimed all property, contended that Jesus Christ and his apostles possessed none; the opposite opinion was maintained by the pontiff.

(*f*) Lewis mismanaged very much the possessions of the empire: he abandoned Pleisse to the margraves of Misnia; the imperial cities of Brisac, Schaffhouse, Rheinfeld, and Newbourg on the Rhine, to the dukes of Austria; to the king of Bohemia the city of Eger; to the margraves of Brandenburg the duchy of Pomerania; and to the counts of Guelderland the greater part of Ost-Frisia. Ibid. p. 535.

(*g*) He rendered the Elbe and the Mulda navigable, and improved the mode of working mines; and he enlarged his kingdom by the acquisition of the marquisate of Brandenburg, of Silesia, of Lusatia, of a great part of the Upper Palatinate, and of a great number of fiefs dispersed through the empire. Ibid. p. 603.

(*h*) A university was founded in Vienna in the year 1364, after the model of those of Paris and Prague. Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 529. Charles IV, to attract a number of scholars from Germany for establishing his new university, allowed them three votes in its government, while but one was granted to the Bohemians; but in the year 1409 this privilege was annulled, on which account four thousand German students retired from Prague, and the university of Leipsic was soon afterwards established in their favour. Lenfant, liv. 4. ch. 5. Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 561.

(*i*) The greater part of the disputes relative

to the imperial elections had been caused by the pretensions of all the princes in each family of the secular electors to give their votes on the occasion; the disorder was increased by the partition of domains, which had become frequent from the time of Frederic I, and by the rise of various collateral lines, which claimed equal right; and at length votes were claimed by princes not possessed of the domains, from which they pretended to derive their rights. Charles ordained that the electoral votes should be attached to the electoral states, which should be indivisible, and inherited according to priority of birth. By this ordinance he excluded those who had been his enemies. Schmidt, tome 4. p. 566.

(k) He had become king of Hungary in the year 1386 by his marriage with the heiress of that kingdom. He succeeded Wenceslaus on the throne of Bohemia in the year 1419.

(l) The greater part of the charges, says Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 551, were manifestly false; and he shared the blame of others with his father, and with all his predecessors from Rhodolph of Hapsburgh. One accusation was that he disgraced the dignity of his crown by suffering dogs to sleep in his chamber. Ibid. p. 550.

(m) This may fairly be included, for two electors, a number of princes, and the greater part of the cities, persisted in the fidelity which

they had sworn to Wenceslaus; who moreover continued to be considered as the lawful king by all the great powers of Europe, was acknowledged as such by the council of Pisa, and maintained his pretensions until the year 1411, when he freely renounced the imperial dignity in favour of his brother Sigismond. Ibid.

(n) The arms of Charlemagne penetrated into Bohemia in the year 805, and Lewis the Germanic reduced Moravia in the year 845. Towards the end of the ninth century Arnold king of Germany gave the duchy of Bohemia to the king of Moravia, for that country had then a prince so distinguished; but the Moravian king having revolted against Arnold, the latter invaded his territory, and at the same time engaged the Huns, since called the Hungarians, to attack him on the other side. This nation, having quitted their habitation near the upper part of the Don, had in the year 744 possessed themselves of Transylvania; and in the year 989 they spread themselves into that country which Porphyrogenetes calls the Great Moravia, from which time probably Moravia was confined nearly to its present dimensions. The Poles acquired possession of Moravia, and it continued subject to them until the eleventh century, when it was united to the duchy of Bohemia. *Etats formés en Europe, &c. par D'Anville, p. 39, 40.* Since the reign of Fre-

deric II. Bohemia by insensible degrees freed itself from the duties which it owed to the empire, preserving nevertheless the privileges which it had acquired in the year 1208, of having a vote in the election of an emperor, and of taking precedence of the other lay-electorates. The Upper Lusatia was annexed to Bohemia by the emperor Henry IV; and Silesia, which had been taken from the Poles by the emperor Frederic I, was united to the same country by the emperor Charles IV, who however alleged that it had been an ancient dependency of the Bohemian crown. Though many dukes of Bohemia had assumed the royal title, it did not become permanently attached to these princes until the year 1199. *Ibid.* p. 42, 43.

(o) These appear to have derived their name from the vallies of Piedmont, in which they were long sheltered, and from which they spread into the adjacent provinces of France.

(p) The practice of withholding the wine from the laity seems to have arisen from the prevalence of the doctrine of transubstantiation, for it appears to have been a consequence of this doctrine, that the bread, as having become the body of Christ, should be deemed sufficient for communion. In the history of the Synod of Diamper by Geddes, a passage is quoted from a treatise of Liturgies by cardinal Bona, book 2, ch. 13, which expressly states that the an-

cient practice of communicating under both kinds began to be disused in the beginning of the twelfth century. Hist. of the Church of Malabar, p. 185. Lond. 1694. However from a very ancient period a practice had prevailed of administering the wine to the laity through a pipe, which may have prepared the way for the greater distinction afterwards introduced between the two orders of Christians. Lenfant, tome 1. p. 13, 64. To the surprising doctrine of transubstantiation this historian has very happily applied a fragment of Menander preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus :

Ἐι γὰρ ἔλκει τὸν θεὸν
 Τοις κυμβάλοις ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὃ βούλεται,
 Ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἐς ἡμίζων τοῦ θεοῦ.

“For if man by his cymbals draws the Deity where he wishes, he who does this is greater than the Deity.” The sacramental words, says he, being put in the place of the cymbals, this passage would be very applicable to the Romish priests, who make Jesus Christ come, when they choose, into a morsel of bread, or at least under its appearance. Diss. sur les Adamites, part. 2.

(7) Or John of Huss, being so named from the place of his birth, Hussinetz a small town in Bohemia. Lenfant tome 1, p. 24.

(r) "John Huss," says Maclean the translator of Mosheim, "adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner the writings and opinions of Wickliffe; but this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the clergy; for in other respects it is certain that he adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two sermons he had prepared for the council of Constance." Eccles. Hist. cent. 15. part 2. ch. 2. note. The practice of communicating under both kinds was recommended by some of his immediate followers; but Huss is said to have thought this unnecessary, though it received his approbation: one historian even alleges, that he wrote from his prison to those who recommended it, that they had at length found a chalice, which would hasten his death. Lenfant, tome 1. p. 64.

(s) This abominable principle, by which its members have dishonoured themselves and their church, was indeed limited to cases, in which the catholic faith, or the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was concerned. Schmidt, tome 5. p. 142. But this limitation leaves a space sufficiently ample.

(t) Ziska, who was chamberlain to Wenceslaus, is said to have obtained from that unthink-

ing prince permission to wreak his vengeance. "Being frequently seen by the king with folded arms, and absorbed in thought, Wenceslaus demanded the cause of his unusual gloom. He replied, what Bohemian can be otherwise than deeply affected, when his country is insulted by the infamous execution of Huss and Jerome! The king carelessly shook his head, and answered, what can we do to repair this injury? If thou canst devise any means, go and avenge thy countrymen; thou hast our free permission." Coxe's *Austria*, vol. 1. p. 175.

(u) Æneas Sylvius, though an Italian, declared his persuasion, that no other kingdom in Europe then possessed so many, so august, and so magnificent churches, which were found not merely in the cities and towns, but even in the villages. Ziska is said to have destroyed five hundred and fifty churches and monasteries. Lenfant, tome 1. p. 103, 104.

(v) They were distinguished by four articles: 1. that the communion should be celebrated under the two kinds; 2. that the word of God should be freely preached; 3. that public crimes should be punished; and 4. that ecclesiastics should not possess temporal goods. Ibid. p. 83. They appear to have agreed with the Roman Catholics in regard to the doctrines of transubstantiation, and of the sacrifice of the mass. Ibid. tome 2. 121. The Taborites on

the other hand, explicitly rejected these doctrines, maintaining that the bread and wine used in the holy communion were merely signs of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Ibid. p. 134.

(w) The favours of the Roman see were indeed bestowed on the condition, that the kings of Hungary should have been approved by the pontiffs, which however does not appear to have been observed, but the pontiffs judged it convenient to take no notice of the neglect. *Revol. de Hongrie*, liv. 1. p. 6.

(x) The doctrine of Huss was however so intemperate, that it must have alarmed the mind of Sigismond. The reformer, like his predecessor Wicliff, had taught that, not only a pope or bishop, but also a king, who lived in mortal sin, was divested of his character; and when the tenet was mentioned to the prince, he felt all the danger of its application, for he justly remarked, that no man is exempt from sin. Schmidt, tome 5. p. 138.

(y) This princess had been placed on the throne of Hungary in the year 1382 with the title of *king*. *Revol. de Hongrie*, liv. 1. p. 21.

(z) In the year 1526, Lewis II. king of Hungary and Bohemia having died without issue, the succession devolved to the archduke Ferdinand, in right of his marriage with a sister of that king, and of many treaties which had an-

ciently secured the inheritance to the house of Austria. Pfeffel, tome 2. p. 134,

(aa) Charles VI, who concluded the first house of Austria, died in the year 1740. Two years afterwards Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, ascended the throne under the name of Charles VII; he died in the beginning of the year 1745, and then the second house of Austria was begun by Francis of Lorraine, grand-duke of Tuscany, who had married Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI, and queen of Hungary and Bohemia. The short reign of Charles VII. was occupied by the war called the war of the succession.

(bb) " This abuse was carried to so great an extent, that not only sovereigns and states engaged in hostilities from interest or revenge, but the lesser barons, and even associations of tradesmen and domestics, sent defiances to each other, on the most ridiculous pretences, and in a manner scarcely credible at the present day. We find a declaration of war from a private individual, Henry Mayenberg, against the emperor himself; another from the lord of Prauenstein against Frankfort, because a young lady of the city refused to dance with his uncle; another in 1450 from the baker and domestics of the margrave of Baden, against Eslingen, Reutlingen, and other imperial cities; another in 1462 from the baker of the count palatine

Louis, against the cities of Augsburgh, Ulm, and Rothwell; one in 1471 from the shoe-blacks of the university of Leipzig against the provost, and some other members; and one in 1477 from a cook of Eppenstein with his scullions, dairy-maids, and dish-washers, against Otho count of Solms." Coxe's *Austria*, vol. 1. p. 306. How general indeed was the practice of violence, and how important was the ordinance by which it was suppressed, may be estimated from the following anecdote, mentioned by Schmidt, tome 5. p. 492. An archbishop of Cologne erected a castle, and having been asked by the person to whom he entrusted it, how he should support himself and his followers, replied that there were four highways in the neighbourhood.

(cc) This court was composed of a president, who was a prince or noble of the empire, and sixteen assessors, half of whom were of the equestrian order, and half doctors or licentiates in law, chosen by the emperor from candidates presented by the states. The members, for the first time in an institution of this kind, were declared to be not removeable from their offices. The jurisdiction of this tribunal was at first, by the imperial prerogatives and the privileges of the states, extremely limited, and confined to appeals; but in process of time it became gradually more considerable, and produced the

most beneficial effects. Coxe's *Austria*, vol. 1. p. 350.

(*dd*) These were the circles of Austria, Burgundy, the Lower Rhine, Upper Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony. This distribution was begun in the reign of Wenceslaus, when four circles were formed; in the reign of Frederic III. the number was encreased to six; and in that of Maximilian it was finally agreed that they should be the ten here mentioned. Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 544, tome 2. p. 77, 96.

(*ee*) He possessed only Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which formed scarcely the half of the Austrian territories. Schmidt, tome 5. p. 231.

(*ff*) Of this prince Mr. Coxe has observed that, "though too much depreciated by modern historians (in a note he has particularised Robertson, Hume, and Roscoe) who seem only to have discerned his failings, his misfortunes, and his wants, he rose superior to his age by his multifarious endowments of body and mind, and was the wonder, the boast, and the envy of his contemporaries." *Hist. of Austria*, vol. 1. p. 443.

(*gg*) This was effected by bribery: each of the four electors of the province of the Rhine received one hundred thousand florins of gold, which sums were levied on the small remains

of the domains of the empire, and on the imperial cities. Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 533.

(hh) "If," says he, "we judge of the constitution of the empire in relation to the object, which men ought to propose in uniting themselves by the bonds of society, and if this object be to combine all the parts of the society, so that they should concur to the preservation of peace, order, liberty, subordination, and law, we may doubtless remark enormous vices in the Germanic government: but if we regard all the members of the empire as powers merely allied by treaties, and connected by continued negotiations in a species of congress always subsisting, we may be convinced, that free and independent powers could not adopt wiser measures for the maintenance of peace, and the hinderance of their common ruin." *Observ. sur l'hist. de France*, liv. 4. ch. 6.

Germany, at the death of the emperor Sigismund, was bounded on the south by the Alps and the Rhine; on the north by the Baltic, the Eyder, and the German ocean; on the west by Mount-Iura, the Voges, and the Meuse; and on the east by precisely the same limits as at present. Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 598.

LECTURE XXXII.

Of the history of Switzerland, from the conspiracy in the year 1307 to the admission of Appenzel, the last of the thirteen cantons, in the year 1513.

Conspiracy of the three forest-cantons	1307
Battle of Morgarten	1315
Lucern admitted	1332
Zurich admitted	1351
Glaris, Zug, and Berne admitted .	1352
War of the nobles	1386
The nobles reduced	1389
League of the House of God . .	1396
Grey League	1424
League of the Ten Jurisdictions .	1428
Burgundian war begun	1474
Burgundian war concluded . . .	1477
Friburgh and Soleure admitted . .	1481
Independence of the Swiss Confederacy	1500
Basle and Shaffhausen admitted .	1501
Appenzel admitted	1513

HISTORIANS have agreed in remarking the geographical peculiarities, which appear to have separated the Swiss from the surrounding nations, and to have destined them to the for-

mation of a confederacy of republican governments. Bounded (*a*) by the Alps and the lake of Geneva on the south, by Mount Jura on the west, and by the Rhine on the north and east, they were taught by nature to consider themselves as constituting a single community, while the almost inaccessible mountains, which broke into subdivisions the interior of their country, still more forcibly determined them to the distribution of that community among a number of republics, acknowledging a federal connection, but tenacious of the rights of independence. The Helvetians accordingly are known to have formed in the most ancient times a distinct and independent nation, which was distributed into four districts, their less settled habits having probably hindered a more minute division. The conquering power of Rome indeed overthrew the independence of the Helvetians by him who afterwards became her own master; and when the Roman empire itself had sunk under the unwieldiness of its own dominion, and the shocks of barbarian invasion, they were successively subjected to the Burgundians, the Franks, the Lombards, and the Germans, and their ancient name was forgotten. At length, when the governments of Europe began to assume settled and appropriate forms, the physical circumstances of this country resumed their influence

on the political circumstances of its people, some of the tribes by which it was inhabited, began to enjoy an obscure and unacknowledged independence in their secluded vallies, and insensibly that federal union of distinct cantons was adopted, which afterwards by successive extensions became the constitution of the entire country.

A political combination such as the Helvetic confederacy could not be formed in the centre of Europe, without exercising by its mere example a direct and important influence on the surrounding governments. The example of freedom, which (*b*) Roman policy had deemed so dangerous, could not be perpetually exhibited to the neighbouring nations, without exciting some disposition to assert the violated rights of the inferior orders of society ; and the little republic of Geneva, which may be considered as an emanation flowing from the independence of Switzerland, was to revolutionary France a principle of explosion, placed at its extremity, as the fuse is on the surface of the bomb. Even the military usages of these simple mountaineers produced an important effect in modifying the general system. Destitute of cavalry, which their own poverty and the barrenness of their territory rendered it impossible to provide, they trusted to the prowess of a hardy infantry ; and their example taught the neighbouring govern-

ments to disregard the military services of the nobles, who as horsemen had constituted the strength of the armies of Europe.

But the most interesting character of this celebrated confederacy appears to have consisted in providing a fit theatre for that part of the reformation of religion, which has received its name from the ancient denomination of the territory. It was only amidst the freedom of the little communities, of which it was composed, that a revolution of religion could occur, which should introduce the laity into the management of the church. It may indeed be supposed, that such a revolution might have been as well accomplished amidst the equality of one large democracy, but such a constitution would probably have been of too limited a duration, to permit the permanent establishment of the new system of ecclesiastical administration ; some demagogue would probably have soon raised himself to power, and crushed the institutions by which he had been exalted. And though neither all the governments of the Helvetic confederacy, nor even those in which the principle of equal government chiefly prevailed, embraced the reformed religion, yet it may be easily understood that, for maintaining the spirit of the Helvetic reformation, a balance of contending governments may have been indispensably required. The human mind is in

every case excited by opposition to the exertion of its energies ; a system of ecclesiastical freedom required therefore to be supported by the countervailing principle of popery existing in (c) seven of the thirteen cantons ; and the confederacy thus exhibited in regard to religion a miniature of the balance existing in the general system of Europe, except that in the former the party of the Protestants prevailed, and in the latter that of the Roman Catholics.

Though however the confederacy of the Swiss cantons constituted the fittest organ for forming and maintaining the Helvetic reformation, the little republic of Geneva, adjacent to, but not comprehended within the limits of Switzerland, possessed some peculiar advantages by which it was qualified to give extraordinary energy to the spirit, which had been nurtured among the Swiss. Driven into (d) independence in escaping from the double tyranny of the count of Savoy and of its own bishop, its people were naturally disposed to resist every pretension at once of ecclesiastical and of civil authority, and to form a code of republican regulations for the management of all concerns, religious as well as temporal. The republic too being (e) so very diminutive, that every citizen was conscious of bearing a considerable proportion of the entire community, the spirit of ecclesiastical and civil independence was not mitigated

by any of those causes, which operate in larger societies to moderate the violence of party : and as it stood (*f*) detached from the Helvetic confederacy, it was not restrained in its political relations by any compromise of federative interests, but left at liberty to obey the impulse of its own domestic agitations, while it was so constantly alarmed for its safety by the formidable power of the surrounding governments, that every principle of activity was perpetually exerted.

In the distribution of the (*g*) various parts of this complex confederacy a curious adaptation has been noticed by a * recent writer. The religion of Rome, he remarks, prevailed in those cantons in which civil liberty had been carried to the extreme of democracy, while the subordination of the aristocratic cantons was tempered by the independence of a presbyterian system of ecclesiastical government. This double combination was in truth the result of the variety of local circumstances, the same mountainous situation which was favourable to civil freedom, being adverse to the intellectual improvement necessary for religious reformation, and the inhabitants of the more level districts being at once disposed to form a more graduated arrangement of political society, and

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* Mem. de Louis XVI, par Soulavie, tome 3. p. 319, &c. Paris 1801.

qualified to discover and reject the abuses of the religion of Rome. And while ecclesiastical was thus balanced against civil freedom, the difference in the political constitutions of the cantons was accommodated to the external relations of the confederacy, the democratic cantons being locally opposed to Austria, the great antagonist of Helvetic independence, and those of an aristocratic character, which were better fitted for entering into amicable relations with France, being situated in the vicinity of that kingdom. The locality also of the little republic of Geneva, the Rome of Protestantism, as it has been elsewhere not unaptly denominated by the same writer, has attracted his observation, the Pays de Vaud, a district deprived of its liberty, and subjected to the military government of Berne, being interposed between this seat of turbulence and the nearest canton, as a sort of moral non-conductor, which should intercept the communication of its influences.

In a general view of the Swiss confederacy we perceive the Helvetic reformation beginning in Zurich, and receiving its chief support from this flourishing canton, and from Berne the most considerable of the states of Switzerland. If then we regard this part of the Reformation as the grand object of the whole confederacy, we shall be disposed to refer all its arrangements to the due modification of these

two powerful cantons, and to seek in the history of the rest only the importance of subordinate and instrumental members of the general combination. Placed on the contrary sides of the forest-cantons, which contained the germ of the confederacy, Zürich and Berne seem to have been the organs, by which the nobler functions were performed, deriving however the principle of activity from the ruder mountaineers of the intermediate districts. Nor does it appear difficult to explain why both should have been employed; the former in beginning, and the latter in maintaining, the Helvetic reformation. To originate this religious revolution seems to have required; that the canton, in which it should have its beginning, should be of a political constitution inclining towards democracy, such as were the more northern members of the confederacy; whereas to support it demanded the vigour of a more considerable state, which should be governed by the steady wisdom of an aristocracy. When indeed by this interior organization the principle and character of the Helvetic reformation had been sufficiently prepared, it might again be transmitted to the exterior apparatus, provided in the little democracy of Geneva, in which its energy might be sublimated to its utmost ardency, and from which it might be most commodiously com-

municated to the neighbouring monarchy of France.

The tribe of Schwitz, which has given both a beginning and a name to this celebrated confederacy, was * even to the beginning of the eleventh century so little known, that a neighbouring abbot, when he obtained some grants of territory from the emperor, found it practicable to conceal its existence. But though obscure, the people of this tribe were so little dependent on the empire, that † we find them in the year 1240 soliciting its protection, as necessary to the due administration of justice. Before this time however, and ‡ even in the middle of the preceding century, the gradual diffusion of this tribe through the neighbouring vallies had caused it to be divided into three cantons, of which one retained the original appellation, and the others were distinguished by those of Uri and Underwalden; and the habits of political connection, which naturally subsisted among these kindred communities, had even then given a commencement to the Helvetic confederacy. The distinct existence of the confederacy, as a separate and acknowledged member of the general system of European

* Planta's hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy, vol. 1. p. 83. Lond. 1800. Hist. des Suisses par Mallet, tome 1. p. 172. Geneve 1803. † Planta, vol. 1. p. 85, 87. ‡ Ibid. p. 90.

states, was however yet far distant. Even the celebrated conspiracy in the beginning of the fourteenth century, from which its independence is commonly dated, professed only to be a renewal of the ancient league, and scrupulously reserved the rights of the house of Austria; and though at the peace of Basle, concluded in the year 1500, the independence of the confederacy was substantially acknowledged by that family, it was found to be necessary to procure a solemn recognition of it (*h*) at the peace of Westphalia, concluded in the year 1648, by which it became a part of the public law of Europe.

As the tribe of Schwitz, which originated the confederacy, received its peculiar spirit and character from the wild hardihood of its mountainous situation, so may the civil and ecclesiastical importance of Zurich and Berne, the two great supports of the Helvetic reformation, be distinctly traced to the local circumstances, in which they were respectively formed. The former of these was * by its position rendered a second time the emporium of Italy, Rhoetia, and Germany, and it soon acquired the dignity and independence, which naturally result from commercial prosperity; here accordingly Arnold of Brescia sought refuge in the twelfth century, when he was persecuted for arraign-

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 72.

ing the corruptions of the clergy, and the people of Zurich continued to cherish opinions, which tended to emancipate them from the dominion of the Roman church. Berne, * which was founded towards the end of the twelfth century, was at once favoured by the advantages of a central situation, and alarmed into caution by its exposure; to the former circumstance it was indebted for a considerable degree of prosperity, and † from the latter it derived that prudent policy, which even from its commencement rendered its government aristocratic, and gave to its counsels a superior wisdom. The cautious policy of the people of Berne might probably have for ever disqualified them for commencing a revolution of religion; but they possessed sufficient independence to be disposed to receive the new doctrine from the democracy of Zurich, and their wisdom was then employed in the defence of the system, which had been first established among the bolder politicians of the more republican canton.

The advancement of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the throne of the empire, which occurred in the year 1273, had an important influence on the subsequent fortunes of the confederacy. This Helvetic noble, having before his elevation acquired by his talents and con-

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 76. † Ibid. p. 95.

duct the advocacy or protectorship of several of the tribes of his country, and having after that event received from his countrymen in his numerous enterprises the most faithful service, was lavish of the proofs of his esteem and gratitude to the little communities of Helvetia, and (s) particularly to the three cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden. His policy too had concurred with his gratitude to favour the growing independence of the commons of Swisserland, for in the early part of his career he had laboured to repress the licentiousness of the nobles, who tyrannized over the inferior orders. Even when he afterwards engaged in an enterprise of selfish ambition, yet this part also of his conduct was eventually conducive to the prosperity of the Helvetic states. * The counts of Savoy having obtained as great an ascendancy in the Roman or southern, as Rhodolph had acquired for his family in the Germanic part of Helvetia, it was natural that princes so circumstanced should on some occasion or other come into collision, and as Rhodolph conceived the project of reestablishing in favour of his second son (k) the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, he was in the prosecution of it involved in a war with Savoy. If the design of Rhodolph had been accomplished, his success must have crushed the republican spirit of Swisser-

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 123, &c.

land, by including that country within the limits of a considerable monarchy; but the accidental death of the young prince defeated the plan, and the result of the efforts of Rhodolph, instead of establishing a dominion inconsistent with that spirit, was that the power of a formidable neighbour of the Helvetians was reduced, and that the several castles and domains were recovered, which had been taken from their territory.

Rhodolph, who died in the year 1291, was succeeded on the throne of the empire by Adolphus count of Nassau, Albert the son of Rhodolph having been rejected on account of the aversion generally entertained for his violent and ambitious character. The reign of Adolphus, though it extended only to six years, formed an interval most favourable to the prosperity of Helvetia, both by the direct, and by the indirect operation of his government. Its direct operation bestowed on the cities,* not only the confirmation of their ancient privileges, but also various additional, and more important franchises; and as the advancement of Adolphus was a temporary rejection of the pretension of Albert, it served to encourage among the Helvetic tribes that spirit of resistance, which broke out into action in the year 1307, when the latter had at length possessed himself of the throne. Such indeed was the apprehension of

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 139.

the tyranny of Albert, that as soon as intelligence was received of the death of his father Rhodolph, the three cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, deemed it expedient to make (1) a formal renewal of their ancient league, by which, while they reserved those duties to which they had been subject, they bound themselves to receive no magistrates except those who were natives of their country, and resident among them. Though the immediate alarm was dissipated by the elevation of Adolphus, it was remembered that he might yet be the emperor; the intervening reign of Adolphus was accordingly employed in forming hostile combinations against his pretensions; and when this prince had at length defeated and slain his rival, and had taken possession of the throne, the Swiss received a sovereign to whom they had previously been enemies.

When the deputies of the Swiss had, in the year 1298, repaired to Albert after his election, they received from him a denunciation well fitted to justify the apprehensions which had been conceived, being informed that he designed soon to propose an alteration of their government. Albert, * anxious to possess himself of all the districts, which intervened between his hereditary dominions, immediately adopted measures for the execution of this de-

* Planta vol. 1. p. 145, &c.

claration. In the prosecution of his plan he assumed to himself various supremacies and jurisdictions, and at length summoned the inhabitants of the three cantons to submit themselves wholly to his direction. The cantons, though required to surrender all their privileges, contented themselves with declining to make any change in the condition which they had inherited from their forefathers, and soliciting a confirmation of their ancient liberties; but the commissaries or bailiffs, deputed by Albert for the administration of justice, irritated the people by their insults and oppressions, and a combination (*m*) of three intrepid individuals, inhabitants respectively of the three original cantons, gave a beginning to the Helvetic nation. Notwithstanding the provocations which they had received, the conduct of these men and their associates was distinguished by moderation and justice. When one of the two imperial bailiffs had fallen a victim to the revenge of an individual, the celebrated William Tell, whom (*n*) he had particularly outraged, the other and all his attendants were quietly conducted to the frontiers, and dismissed in safety as soon as they had bound themselves by an oath never again to visit the territory of the cantons; the rights of these cantons were vindicated, and the shepherds of the Alps meditated no political innovation.

While Albert was marching against the Swiss, to crush this spirit of resistance, however moderated, he perished by the hands of assassins supposed to have been instigated by his own nephew, and left the confederacy to be cemented and extended. But it is deserving of attention that the circumstances of his death, though the Swiss had no concern in the violence, proved eminently favourable to the republican character of the cantons. The succeeding emperor gave his assistance to the family of Albert in punishing the assassins; and the persecution of the nobles, who were believed to have been engaged in the conspiracy, * has been regarded as having contributed more than all the subsequent wars, to the destruction of the nobility in this part of Helvetia.

If we now pursue the progress of this interesting confederacy, we shall observe a various combination of circumstances, by which it was assisted. The Austrian family, the advancement of which had first promoted the prosperity, and then provoked the resistance of the cantons, was set aside by the electors of the empire at the death of Albert, and Henry VII, a prince not at all connected with that family, was placed upon the throne. This emperor, feeling no interest in the resentments of the Austrian princes, † did justice to the conduct of

* Mallet, tome 1. p. 219.

† Planta, vol. 1. p. 176, &c.

the cantons, and in particular declared them exempt from the jurisdiction of Austria, to which they had been subject. Four years afterwards, the imperial throne having become vacant by the death of Henry, the competition for the succession, which arose between Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria, afforded the occasion of the struggle, by which the confederacy of the cantons was established; the cantons attached themselves to Lewis, the rival of the Austrian prince, and being on that account attacked by the Austrians, fought in the year 1315, or eight years after their solemn confederation, the decisive battle of Morgarten, In this conflict occurred a display of political firmness and of steady patriotism, which reminds us of the best days of ancient virtue, and is honourably characteristic of the founders of the Helvetic league. Fifty men, who in some civil dissension had been banished from the canton of Schwitz, solicited permission to fight on this important day in defence of their native seats; the magistrates, on the other hand, refused to suffer the apprehension of danger to be admitted as a reason for relaxing the ordinances of their country, and declined to accept their patriotic proposal; and the exiles, though rejected by their countrymen, posted themselves on an eminence beyond the frontier of the canton, where they contributed to the victory of

those by whom their services had been refused. Their countrymen then gave to gratitude, what they had refused to yield to apprehension, and the exiles were restored immediately after the battle.

The next important event in the history of the confederacy was the admission of Lucern as a fourth canton,* which occurred in the year 1332, the twenty-fifth since the three primitive cantons had associated for the preservation of their rights. The tyrannical habits of the Austrian family were the cause of this accession, as they had given occasion to the original resistance of the three cantons. The people of Lucern had, in the contest for the throne of the empire, attached themselves to the family of Austria, but were not thereby exempted from its oppressions; at length wearied of the sacrifices which they had made, and indignant at the neglect and tyranny which they experienced, they solicited to be admitted into the league of the cantons, as the only asylum of their rights. In this extension of the confederacy the claims of justice were as scrupulously observed as in the original association, the privileges of the house of Austria being reserved inviolate, and the municipal government of Lucern being left unaltered. A conspiracy however, formed by the nobles of Lucern, who

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 191, &c.

were adverse to this measure, gave occasion to a change of government, by which this was more nearly assimilated to the earlier cantons; for the conspiracy having been accidentally discovered, the administration, which had been chiefly conducted by a few patrician families, was in all lesser matters transferred to a numerous council of burghers, and in those of greater importance was vested in the whole community. The dukes of Austria, exhausted by their Bohemian and other wars, or conciliated by the moderation of the confederates, were induced to acquiesce in the extension of the league to this additional canton.

Though the confederacy began thus to comprehend other cantons, yet the three original tribes of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, which have been distinguished by the name of the forest-cantons,* ever preserved a connection of peculiar intimacy, and indeed constituted the bond by which the whole confederacy was united, as (o) they alone were alike connected with all the members of the Helvetic league. This little association was therefore the central principle, which diffused the life of freedom through all the organization of the larger alliance; and the name of that particular tribe, which had been distributed into those three

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 263. Mallet, tome 2, p. 90.

cantons, was gradually adopted as the collective name of the nation.

Lucern, the canton first added to the primitive league of the forest-cantons, was an important accession, as it communicated with these by the lake which they surrounded, and at the further extremity of which it was itself situated, and with a portion of Swisserland, and of Germany, by three rivers, the Reuss, the Aar, and the Rhine. But much the most considerable of the accessory members of the league, were Zurich and Berne, the two principal of the protestant cantons of Swisserland. These indeed appear to have been the organs for which the entire system was constructed, the other parts of the confederacy serving either, as the forest-cantons, to furnish these two with the active energies of Swiss independence, or else being instrumental to the maintenance of that equilibrium of the religious parties of the country, by which the zeal of these protestant cantons was preserved in a state of sufficient excitement. These two cantons, it has been already remarked, were early rendered considerable by the circumstances of their local situation : and of Berne in particular it has been observed,* by a recent historian of the confederacy, that even before the celebrated alliance of the three original cantons, it was be-

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 140, 214.

come the grand protector of the Helvetic states; and that, if this state had perished in a particular crisis of its fortune, the Helvetic confederacy would probably never have had a place in the annals of the human species.

About twenty years after Lucern had been added to the alliance of the forest-cantons, the confederacy received its most important augmentation by the acquisition of the two considerable cantons of Zurich and Berne, together with that of Glaris and Zug.* An internal revolution, which occurred in the government of the first of these states, gave occasion to its connection with the aforesaid cantons. The democratic constitution of Zurich having been subverted by the intrigues of one of the citizens, a conspiracy was formed against the usurper, but having been accidentally discovered was defeated; the vindictive proceedings of the usurper against the abettors of the conspiracy involved a neighbouring noble connected with Austria, and thus engaged the duke in the quarrel; and the consequent hostilities of Austria rendered it expedient for Zurich and Glaris to solicit to be admitted into the Swiss confederacy, that they might obtain its protection against their formidable enemy. When these two cantons had thus been added to the union,† Zug was for the general safety in

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 204—243.

† Ibid. p. 247.

some degree compelled to enroll itself in the confederacy; and * Berne, which had been obliged to act against the league, was then invited to become a member, that it might not again by other alliances be forced to array itself against the neighbouring cantons.

During † one hundred and twenty-five years the confederacy was limited to these, which have been distinguished by the name of the eight ancient cantons, the accession of the last of which, the great canton of Berne, had now given it, not only a considerable augmentation of strength, but a more stable combination in its internal structure, and a superior importance in its foreign estimation. But it must not be conceived, that any great degree of political union was the object of that confederacy. The original principle of it was merely the preservation of ancient rights in opposition to the aggressions of princes and nobles; the alliances between its members were by no means uniform and equal, many of the five later cantons being connected only through the intervention of the general alliance, while the three original cantons always maintained an intimate association; and the conferences, from which the Helvetic diets afterwards arose, were originally but occasional meetings on the

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* Planta, vol. 1. p. 250.

† Mallet, tome 1. p. 298.

frontiers, suggested by some consideration of present expediency. Composed of members differing much in magnitude, in structure, and in strength, and loosely combined in the variety of the conditions of alliance, it was rather a federative system of distinct communities, than an incorporation of them into one national government.

As the tendency of the confederacy was plainly to wrest the supreme authority out of the hands of the great lords and princes, and to transfer it to the people, it might well be imagined that the former would at length be so roused to a conviction of their danger, that they would associate together for one desperate struggle against the continually encreasing power of the enemy. Such an effort appears accordingly to have been made within a few years after the great enlargement of the confederacy, which about the same time added four new cantons, the war of the nobles having been begun in the year 1386, when * the confederates were assailed by one hundred and sixty-seven lords, headed by the duke of Austria. This war served however to establish that power which it proposed to overthrow, and to decide and hasten the ruin of the nobility of Switzerland. When it had raged three years, during which time the cantons had been almost uni-

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 293.

formly successful, a peace was concluded, the nobles having been much reduced, and the Austrians being then engaged in a war with Poland. At this time (*p*) the enemies of the confederacy were diminished in number, and exhausted in resources; its members were disciplined to mutual cooperation by the necessity of opposing an united resistance to a common danger; and, besides the conquests achieved by Berne in the progress of the war, the Helvetic cities in general enjoyed a favourable opportunity of effecting various acquisitions by civil contracts. The influence of the war of the nobles in strengthening the union of the confederacy appears in the formation of the decree of Sempach, the first martial law of the Swiss nation, which was framed four years after the conclusion of the peace, and received its name from (*q*) the decisive engagement, which had terminated the contest.

Thus in less than a century the confederacy, which had been begun among the shepherds of the three original cantons, was extended through almost every part of the Helvetic territory, comprehended among its members some considerable cities, and (*r*) had become possessed of a number of dependant territories. The acquisition of territorial dependencies was indeed a great deviation from the practice of the ori-

ginal association ; but * it was a change of plan rendered necessary by the general change of political society. As the power of the nobles of Europe sunk into decay, the princes had recourse to stipendiary forces, instead of those furnished by the feudal service, and with these would soon have overwhelmed the Helvetic cities, if the latter had not acquired a counter-vailing force by possessing themselves of a considerable extent of surrounding territory. The confederacy indeed † was in its composition destitute of all claim to simplicity, since in all its contracts all previous rights and privileges were reserved, and the multiplicity of local peculiarities necessarily generated a most complicated polity ; but the object of the whole was the preservation of the rights of individuals, and the acquisition of independent territories, however conducive to the general security of the league, was inconsistent with the principle on which it was established.

The Helvetic confederacy was not the only association formed in those Alpine countries for the security of independence. Encouraged by its prosperity three other leagues were concluded in the districts, which bordered the eastern side of the Helvetic territory ; of these the earliest, because most of its members were dependent on the metropolitan church of Coire,

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 328. † Ibid. p. 324.

was named the league of the house of God; the second was denominated (s) the grey league, probably from the colour of the simple dresses of those by whom it was originally formed; and the third was distinguished by the title of the league of the ten jurisdictions. * The commencement of the first of these has been referred to the year 1396, that of the second to the year 1424, and that of the third to the year 1428.

When the Helvetic league had been so extended that it comprehended many members very variously circumstanced, it was inevitable that some internal agitation should occur, before the parts of this heterogeneous system could in any degree be adjusted to each other, especially as their union was no longer strengthened by the apprehension of external danger. The † first instance of the difficulty of reconciling the various interests and pretensions of the members of the confederacy, which occurred in the year 1416, related to a district on the frontiers of Italy, the people of which solicited assistance in an insurrection from two neighbouring cantons, while their chief magistrate, as a co-burgher of Berne, applied himself to that powerful community. In this instance indeed the cantons, though they espoused opposite parties, did not proceed to direct hostilities,

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 339, 404, 405. † Ibid. p. 385.

but agreed upon an accommodation. In the year 1440 however,* the male line of a noble family of Helvetia having become extinct, and the last male having died intestate, a war broke out among the cantons about the claims to the possessions of the family, and continued to desolate them during a period of seven years. But this bloody and tedious contention was not destitute of advantageous effects proportioned to the calamities which it inflicted, for it has been remarked by Mr. Mallet, in † his history of the Swiss, that it served to establish two principles, which formed the chief support of the confederation; these principles were, that every disagreement which might arise among the cantons, should be referred to the judgment of those which were neutral, and that the confederate cantons had a right to determine, whether the alliances contracted severally by the members of the league were compatible with the general confederacy. It is deserving of attention, that ‡ the emperor was at this time too deeply engaged in war with the Turks, the Hussites, and many of his own subjects, to interfere with any effect in the Helvetic contest.

It has been mentioned that one important respect, in which the Helvetic confederacy influenced the European system, was that of the

* Planta, vol. 1. p. 409, &c. † Tome 2, p. 89.

‡ Planta, vol. 1. p. 451.

change effected in the military art, when the states of Europe were taught by the example of the Swiss to rely on the steadiness of infantry, rather than on the impetuosity of cavalry. This influence was exerted in the practice adopted by the Swiss of engaging as mercenaries in the service of other states; and a practice so remote from the moderation and neutrality of their original association, may be considered as chiefly derived from the foreign war, which speedily followed the domestic contest of the cantons. The duke of Burgundy, at this time one of the most considerable princes of Europe, had conceived the project of extending his dominions from the German ocean to the Mediterranean, and establishing for himself a powerful kingdom; in the prosecution of this design he appears to have proposed to subdue the confederate cantons, and with this view to have rejected their amicable overtures; and when the hostilities which he commenced on his frontiers had alarmed the apprehensions of the Swiss, the crafty policy of Lewis XI. of France, who was desirous of crushing his formidable neighbour, succeeded in involving them in an open war with the duke. This war was begun in the year 1474, and ended after three years with the ruin and death of the Burgundian, whose states were divided between France and Austria.

The rich spoils taken in this war * wrought an immediate and decisive change in the character and conduct of the Swiss : war was thenceforward considered, especially by the young men, as a speedy method of acquiring wealth ; and they panted only for foreign pensions, a high pay, and valuable booty. Many public efforts were indeed employed to repress this disposition to the trade of mercenary war, but the passions of individuals had been too strongly excited, and the public counsels were necessitated to yield to their violence. How excessive the licentiousness of individuals had become under the influence of the sudden introduction of extraordinary wealth, cannot be more fully illustrated than by † the association of more than seven hundred young men, who assumed the name of *the mad society*, and professed to despise the control of their governors.

Four years after the conclusion of the Burgundian war, Friburgh and Soleure were added to the number of the cantons. ‡ Alarmed at the proofs which they beheld of the inability of the existing government to restrain the licentiousness of the people, the cantons of Berne, Zurich and Lucern, readily accepted the proposal of these two cities to be incorporated in the league. The rural cantons, Schwitz, Uri, and

* Planta, vol. 2. p. 1. 42. Mallet, tome 2. p. 192.

† Planta, *ibid.* p. 45. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 46.

Underwalden, resisted the measure, as tending to give an undue preponderance to the municipal districts in the general counsels ; but their concurrence was obtained by the expedient of rendering the new subordinate to the eight ancient cantons. On this occasion was formed a new fundamental law of the confederacy, which from the place of meeting was denominated the covenant of Stanz.

In the last year of the fifteenth century, or eighteen years after the incorporation of these two cantons, * a violent, though a transitory war, broke out between the confederacy and the emperor Maximilian, and just served to give occasion to a treaty, which established its independence. Eager in conceiving brilliant projects, but destitute of the means necessary for their accomplishment, this emperor, who had ascended the throne about six years before, was well fitted to provoke the resistance, which should decide the claims of the confederacy. When, in a contest which did not last quite nine months, more than twenty thousand men had perished, and almost two thousand towns, castles, and villages, had been taken and destroyed, a peace was concluded, by which (†) the claims of the Helvetic league were conceded, and its independence substantially acknowledged.

* Planta, vol. 2. p. 57, &c.

In the first year of the sixteenth century the confederacy was again augmented by the admission of the two cities of Basle and Schaffhausen, important as bulwarks on the side of the Germanic empire : and in the year 1513 the incorporation of the country of Appenzel completed the number of the thirteen cantons, which remained unaltered even to our time. The same superiority of the eight more ancient cantons having been maintained in these, as in the preceding instances, the equilibrium of the Helvetic system continued unchanged, notwithstanding the accession of new members ; and the forest-cantons, the original members of the confederacy, preserved that proportion of importance in the collective concerns of the nation, which enabled them to exercise a due influence on the public deliberations. Thus was the organization of this interesting system perfected just three years before Zuingli began in the church of Glaris to preach the doctrines of a scriptural Christianity. To develope one part of the Reformation appears to have been its principal function, and it was made ready precisely for the great occasion.

The Helvetic part of the general reformation of religion, which was developed among the united cantons, appears however to have required some appropriate organ for maturing its principles, and to have found such an one in the

little republic of Geneva, which neighboured the Helvetic confederacy, and formed an intimate connection with the great Protestant canton of Berne, though it did not enter into the general association of the Swiss states, but maintained its political distinctness (*u*) even to the present time. Though near in place, it was separated from the Helvetic cantons by the interposition of other territories, and of the lake to which it has communicated a name; even its population was derived from a different source, for the Genevese were sprung from the (*v*) ancient Allobroges, not from the Helvetii. These circumstances preserved the distinctness of this small, but important community, while the necessities of its situation drove it into such a connection with the Helvetic states, as facilitated the transmission of the principles of the Helvetic reformation.

This little community * became independent in the year 1032, when the second kingdom of Burgundy, in which it had been comprehended, had terminated with the series of its princes; the government was however divided between the bishop and the count, the former having become master of the city, and the latter of the adjacent territory. A government so constituted was necessarily agitated by the contentions of the two authorities, as the count was

* Spon. tome 1. p. 32, 33.

always desirous of extending his dominion over the city, and of restraining the bishop to his spiritual jurisdiction. When this struggle, which * commenced in the year 1120, had been continued during ninety-one years, a new party was introduced, the count of Savoy having gained such advantages over the count of Geneva, that he was at this time become a neighbouring potentate. In the year 1211, or ninety-one years after this transaction, † the count of Savoy was established in the place of the count of Geneva, and from this time became, as the latter had previously been, the rival of the bishop.

In the progress of these competitions the people of Geneva gradually attained to importance, ‡ having found various opportunities for vindicating privileges, which they claimed as constituting an imperial city. At length in the year 1444, (w) the family of Savoy acquired possession of the bishopric of Geneva, which they continued generally to enjoy; the people of that city, who had at this time become considerable, were accordingly placed in opposition at once to ecclesiastical and to civil authorities; and the result was that, connecting themselves (x) first with Friburgh, and afterwards permanently with Berne, they emanci-

* Spon. tome 1. p. 38, 39. † Ibid. p. 49, 50, note.

‡ Ibid. p. 37.

pated themselves from the double dominion and * receiving from the latter canton the new doctrine of the Helvetic reformation, established a constitution in which its principles of ecclesiastical republicanism were incorporated with a republican government. Rome, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Roman Catholics, had raised itself to power amidst the contention and the weakness of the Italian governments, and Geneva found an opportunity of maintaining its independence on the common frontier of France, Swisserland, and Savoy.

* Spon. tome 1. p. 192, &c.

(a) Swisserland in length, from east to west, extends about two hundred British miles; and in breadth, from north to south, about one hundred and thirty. The area has been estimated to contain fourteen thousand nine hundred and sixty square miles; the population does not exceed one million eight hundred thousand persons, a large proportion of the territory being unfit for human habitation. Pinkerton, vol. 1. p. 566. Planta, vol. 1. p. 4.

(b) Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur, was one of the

considerations which disposed Agricola to undertake the conquest of Ireland. *Vita Agric.* sect. 24.

(c) These were Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Lucern, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel. *Planta*, vol. 2. p. 143.

(d) Though driven into independence, it was not however driven into democracy, for the difficulties of its situation rendered the steady prudence of an aristocracy indispensable even to its existence. Accordingly in the year 1530 it was determined that the members of each of the two councils, the petty council and the council of two hundred, should be nominated by the other. *Spon*, tome 1. p. 202, note. From this time the two councils formed a permanent aristocracy, which maintained the interest of the little community; but the remote result was that a strong reaction was at length excited, which through a great part of the eighteenth century rendered Geneva a scene of democratical agitation. The first effort of resistance was exerted in the year 1707: in the year 1738 an edict of pacification was framed by the mediation of France and of the two Swiss cantons of Zurich and Berne: the struggle was renewed in the year 1760, on the arrival of Rousseau, who came to reside in the republic; and was terminated in the year 1768 by an ordinance of mutual accommodation: this ordi-

nance was observed during twelve years; but in the year 1780 the aristocratic party endeavoured to overthrow a system which had reduced their authority, and new contentions prepared materials of disorder, which soon afterwards assisted in effecting the disorganization of France and Europe. Hist. and Pol. View of the Const. and Revol. of Geneva by D'Ivernois, *Dubl.* 1784.

(e) The population of the city of Geneva does not exceed twenty-five thousand persons. Pinkerton, vol. 1. p. 575. It is said however to have contained two-hundred houses more in the fifteenth century. Planta, vol. 1. p. 333. The scanty and scattered territory did not, in the time of D'Alembert, consist of thirty villages. *Essay on the Gov. of Geneva.*

(f) It was separated from the confederacy not only by the lake, but also by the Pays de Vaud, which was not conquered from the duke of Savoy by the canton of Berne before the year 1536. Mallet, tome 3. p. 246. This territory, which is supposed to have derived its name from a tribe of Vandals (*Spon*, tome 1, p. 22,) was anciently comprehended in Burgundy Transjurane; it was in the year 1033 transferred with the other provinces of that kingdom to the emperors of Germany; and in the year 1218 it fell under the government of the counts of Savoy. *Ibid.* p. 235.

(g) Its governments not only varied through the forms of republican administration, from the democracy of the simple forest-cantons to the aristocracy of the powerful state of Berne, but even comprehended one instance of a principality, the counts of Neuchattel having retained their hereditary dominions within its precincts, though not acknowledged as distinct members of the league.

(h) Art. 6. of the treaty of Osnaburgh: even then however the Austrian diplomatists endeavoured to save the credit of their government by the insertion of a qualifying *quasi*.

(i) He exempted them from all dependence on his officers, and enjoined that their country should never on any account be pledged or alienated to any person. Mallet, tome 1. p. 178.

(k) The territories which had belonged to this kingdom were then possessed by the counts of Burgundy and other powerful vassals. The counts of Savoy had acquired a portion of them, having become masters of a part of the Pays de Vaud; the counts of Geneva possessed another; and Rhodolph himself was endeavouring to extend his power in the landgraviate of Burgundy, which had been bequeathed to his family by the last count of Kyburg. Ibid. p. 182.

(l) This, though but purporting to be a re-

newal of the ancient compact is the oldest document of the Swiss confederacy ; it is dated in the year 1291. *Planta*, vol. 1. p. 134, note.

(*m*) Walter Furst of Uri, Werner Stauffacher of Schwitz, and Arnold of Underwalden.

(*n*) William Tell, son-in-law to Walter Furst, had offended the bailiff by refusing with scorn to pay obeisance to a hat planted on a pole ; on this account he was seized, and in violation of the privilege of his canton placed in a boat to be conveyed across the lake ; but a storm having arisen Tell, who had been loosed from his fetters that he might navigate the vessel, found an opportunity of effecting his escape, and afterwards meeting his enemy in a hollow way, shot him with an arrow. The popular tale of the apple, at which, when placed on the head of his son, Tell is said to have been ordered to shoot, is not mentioned by Muller the historian of Swisserland. *Ibid.* p. 154, 155.

(*o*) There was no immediate compact between Berne Zurich and Lucern ; none between Berne Glaris and Zug ; and Glaris and Lucern were equally unconnected. *Ibid.* p. 263.

(*p*) The decay of the nobles of Swisserland was greatly accelerated both by natural events, and by accidental occurrences, various divisions of their possessions having been thus occasioned. *Ibid.* p. 332.

(*q*) In this engagement the victory was gained

by an heroic act of patriotism, which ought to be for ever remembered among instances of generous self-devotement. When the confederates had failed in every attempt to break the line of their enemies, Arnold Struthan de Winkelried, a knight of Underwalden, cried to his countrymen that he would open a passage, desiring them to provide for his wife and children, and to honour his race ; then, throwing himself on the pikes of the opposite ranks, grasped as many of them as he could, buried them in his bosom, and bore them to the ground, leaving a space open for the advance of his companions. Ibid. p. 300. It is impossible to exemplify more strongly the force of institutions and circumstances in exciting and animating the social feelings of men.

(r) This practice was afterwards much extended by the canton of Berne, which acquired in the year 1536 all the Pays de Vaud, Spon. tome 1. p. 270, 305. This tract of country, the most agreeable and the most fertile of southern Switzerland, extends in length about twenty leagues, and is almost equally broad. Mallet, tome 3., p. 235.

(s) Or from the ancient appellation of this group of mountains, Alpes Graiæ. The whole of Upper Rhoetia has since derived from the name of this league the appellation of Grisones, or the *Grey Ones*. Ibid. p. 404.

(*t*) The confederates maintained their immunity from the imperial chamber, and their entire exemption from all taxes or contributions imposed by the emperor ; and also acquired the criminal jurisdiction in the Thurgau, the civil and territorial rights in that province having long since been in their possession. *Ibid.* vol. 2. p. 72.

(*u*) The territory of Geneva was constituted a canton of the Helvetic confederacy in the year 1815 by the treaty of Vienna.

(*v*) The country of the Allobroges extended from the Isere on the south to Geneva, and was bounded on the west by the Rhone ; it comprehended that part of Dauphiné which lies between these rivers, together with Savoy properly so called, and Geneva with its territory on the east of the lake and the south of the city. The Rhone and the lake separated the Allobroges from the Helvetians. *Spon.* tome 1. p. 5. note.

(*w*) In the year 1401 the county of Geneva was sold to the count of Savoy, who in the year 1417 was created a duke. This duke, Amadeus VIII. in the year 1432 resigned the duchy to one son, and the county to another, becoming himself a hermit. Having acquired a reputation of sanctity by his retreat, he was in the year 1439 elevated by the council of Basle to the papacy under the name of Felix V ; and

in the year 1444 he constituted himself administrator of the two bishoprics of Geneva and Lausanne : from this time the family of Savoy was generally connected with the bishopric of Geneva. Spon. tome 1. p. 73—84.

(x) The alliance with Friburgh was concluded in the year 1518, and in the year 1526 Berne was associated in the league. Berne in the year 1528 adopted the reformed religion, in which that canton was followed by Geneva in the year 1530. Friburgh was alienated from Geneva by this revolution in the year 1533, and in the following year renounced the alliance; the religion of Rome was in the year 1535 abolished at Geneva, and in the year 1557 the alliance with Berne was made perpetual. Geneva was desirous of becoming a member of the Helvetic confederacy, but this measure was obstructed by religious considerations.

LECTURE XXXIII.

Of the history of the Spanish peninsula from the commencement of the fourteenth century to the accession of the emperor Charles V. to the crown of Spain in the year 1516.

<i>Christians.</i>		<i>Moors.</i>
Portuguese discoveries begun	1410	
Naples acquired by Aragon	1442	
Aragon united to Castile	1475	
		Troubles of Granada begun 1483
Cape of Good Hope passed	1484	
West Indies discovered . .	1492	Granada conquered . . . 1492
North America discovered by		
Cubot	1496	
Vasques de Gama arrived in		
India	1498	
Brazil discovered	1501	
Navarre united to Castile and		
Aragon	1512	

WHILE the system of Europe was disposing itself in a manner which might favour the great separation from the Roman church effected in the sixteenth century, the good order of the system appears to have required, that some provision should also be made for giving to that church some new and powerful support. If we should regard the changes of European society

only in relation to the religious improvement of mankind, it might even in such a view be judged to have been necessary, that the new doctrines should not be permitted to spread themselves with uncontrolled rapidity, but should be subjected to the restraint of a vigorous and determined resistance ; for only a small portion of Europe could yet be prepared for embracing opinions, which required a bold independence of mind, and even among those who were capable of receiving the doctrines of the Reformation, the spirit of Christian piety would be best exercised by difficulty and suffering. But in that temporal consideration of the events of modern history which belongs to the present enquiry, the advantage of providing a new and powerful support for the ancient religion, when it was to be exposed to the opposition of the reformers, is yet more manifestly apparent. It has been suggested that, as the church of Rome in the earlier period of modern history supplied a principle of union to the European governments, then scarcely connected by any political relations, so in its latter and more improved period, the religious separation of the states of Europe, by which they were distributed into the two great parties of Roman Catholics and Protestants, furnished a principle of political equilibrium, for which the state of European society was at this time prepared.

But if a political balance were to be maintained by the struggles of these two parties, it seems to have been indispensably required that the ancient establishment of religion, which was shaken to its foundation by the assaults of the reformers, should be strengthened for the contest by some additional buttress, which might enable the party of Rome to preserve their station in Europe, and even to exert efforts so alarming, as should excite all the activity of their adversaries. In this manner, while the religious sentiments of the reformers were disciplined by suffering, the great struggle of the political system was supported, and a balance of power was preserved, which animated the energies of the several governments, and secured the general independence.

Among the various states of Europe the loosely connected government of Germany has been described as that which was particularly fitted for originating the important separation, which distributed them into two religious parties. Spain appears on the other hand to have been the support provided for the ancient religion, when the struggle should have rendered such assistance necessary. In the period preceding the Reformation the papacy was sufficiently * sustained by the government of Naples, which was formed just when the great struggle of Gregory

* Vol. 2. p. 484.

VII. required the support of a friendly and neighbouring power ; but in the more extended combinations of the sixteenth century, which involved all the governments of southern Europe, some new and more considerable aid was indispensably necessary to the stability of the Roman see. We accordingly observe that just before the middle of the preceding century the kingdom of Naples, the former ally of the papacy, became connected with Aragon, one of the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, as if to communicate to it that political relation, by which it was itself connected with the see of Rome : we next observe, and before the conclusion of the same century, Aragon, with its dependent kingdom of Naples, united to Castile, by which union the main government of the peninsula was also comprehended in the same relations, and attached to the support of the same interests : and lastly, in that curious combination of events which the blindness and ignorance of mankind denominate fortuitous, the united monarchy itself, in the very year in which Luther began the work of reformation, connected with the imperial power of Germany, and thus binding more strongly to the cause of the papacy the chief of that government, in which the contest of religion was primarily to be waged. If it be considered that the long crusade of almost eight hundred years,

in which the Spaniards had been engaged with the Moors; particularly prepared them to be zealous for the faith of Rome, such a series of arrangements, all tending to enlist them in its defence, and to render them active in its service, cannot fail to fill us with admiration.

In the twenty-first lecture I reviewed the history of the Spanish peninsula from the beginning of the Gothic kingdom, in the year 472, to that of the fourteenth century; and I then remarked the respective adaptations of its four Christian sovereignties, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre, the first of these forming the grand central power, and maintaining the great contest with the Saracens or Moors, the second engaging in the political interests of the Mediterranean, which it afterwards connected with the Spanish monarchy, the third opening the way in those voyages of distant discovery, which have changed the politics of the world, and the fourth serving to maintain a communication between two countries, which the Pyrenees would otherwise have in a considerable degree excluded from intercourse. In the present lecture I propose to trace the progress of this country through the two succeeding centuries, and to the accession of the emperor Charles V, a period of time distinguished by changes the most important, the entire reduction of the Saracenic power in Spain, the consolidation of three

of the Spanish kingdoms into a single monarchy, the connection of that monarchy with the German empire, effected by the accession of the family of Austria, and the extraordinary and important discoveries, accomplished first by the Portuguese, and afterwards in emulation of their successful daring by the Spaniards.

So early as the year 1240 the Moorish possessions in Spain had been confined to the kingdom of Granada. It might naturally have been expected, that the Moors would soon be reduced in this most southern province, and the whole peninsula be restored to the Christians. The event was however very different from such an expectation. Two hundred and fifty-two years elapsed before the reduction of Granada, which was effected in the year 1492, the power of the Moors remaining during all this period nearly stationary. Long indeed before this time they had been driven out of the territories of Portugal, the conquest of (a) Algarva, the most southern of these territories, having been completed in the year 1250. The first object of our enquiry will therefore be to consider what those causes were, which so long suspended the progress of the Castilian conquest, and how this protracted suspension was accommodated to the mutual relations of the

Spanish governments, and to the circumstances of the general system of Europe.

In the year 1240 the kingdom of Granada had been formed out of the remaining possessions of the Moors of Spain, and two successive reigns, the latter of which terminated in the year 1502, were distinguished by so much ability, as gave consistency and vigour to the new establishment. On the other hand we observe in the Castilian government, only ten years from the same epoch, the commencement of a long series of internal dissensions, by which it was disabled for prosecuting with success its hostilities against that Moorish sovereignty. A * troubled minority began in the year 1312; and we have been expressly informed by Mariana, that a war which had been commenced against the Moors, was discontinued on account of the intestine divisions, which prevailed among the Castilians: nor from this time until the reduction of Granada in the year 1492 do we find any interval of considerable length, and scarcely any interval whatsoever, in which the history of Castile is not filled with the struggles of its nobles, struggles favoured occasionally by the minority, the incapacity, or the misconduct of its sovereigns. The continuance also of the division of the peninsula into so many Christian

* Mariana's hist. of Spain, book 15. ch. 6.

governments is * mentioned by the same historian, as having postponed the ruin of the common enemy ; and we accordingly observe that Ferdinand, by whom it was at length effected, had seventeen years before united into one sovereignty the two Spanish monarchies of Aragon and Castile, having inherited the former, and having afterwards obtained possession of the latter in consequence of his marriage with Isabella the sister of the last king, who died without issue.

The final reduction of the Moors of Spain was an event of great and various importance. It was most desirable to the formation of the Christian monarchy of Spain, that a people so alien from all the institutions of the society of Christendom should not hold a distinct possession within the limits of the peninsula ; nor indeed could that monarchy be firmly established, as long as any other separate government should exist in the peninsula besides Portugal, by which it was balanced in the general system of the policy of Europe. The construction too of that general system appears to have required, that this inroad of the population of Africa should be so far repelled, that a state should not remain within the boundaries of Europe, which must be incapable of accommodating itself to the policy of such a system, and of act-

* Book 25. ch. 1.

ing with regularity in its combinations. But these consequences of the reduction of the Moorish kingdom of Granada were by no means the whole result of that event. It appears to have at once determined the character of the Spanish government in regard to that bigoted zeal for the church of Rome, by which it has been since so much distinguished; and in its more remote operation it may be considered as the cause of that expulsion of the Moors, which deprived Spain of the industrious part of its population, and thus accelerated the degradation of the state: a people so enthralled to the dominion of ecclesiastics could not indeed in any case have long preserved the energy, which is necessary for maintaining a station of political importance; but (*b*) the sudden subtraction of a multitude of industrious inhabitants could not fail to decide and precipitate a change, which must otherwise have more slowly reduced the alarming power of a bigoted and persecuting government.

Though Spain had even in the Gothic period of its history evinced a strong attachment to the faith of Rome, and its bishops had, in the persecution of Priscillian and his followers, exhibited the first example of a bloody intolerance, yet in general the conduct of the nation was influenced (*c*) by a spirit of forbearance, until the final ruin of the Moorish power

had established the triumph of the church, and the depression of the barons had rendered them unable to protect their vassals against the efforts of the ecclesiastics; and in the reduction of Granada (*d*) conditions were granted by the conquerors, which guaranteed to the vanquished the continuance of their laws customs and religion. These conditions indeed were not long observed; but though the ascendancy of the ecclesiastics may be considered as commencing with the conquest of the last Moorish sovereignty, it was found convenient (*e*) to begin the work of persecution with the expulsion of the Jews, who were also numerous in Spain. Seven * years exhausted the forbearance of the new sovereigns of Granada in regard to their subjects of that country; the inflexible spirit of Ximenes was then employed in effecting by caresses and by violences an (*f*) apparent conversion of the conquered people; and an insurrection of those who were still zealous for the religion of their fathers, furnished a pretence for treating them as rebels, who had forfeited the benefits of their capitulation. When the obligation of the treaty had been thus set aside, the Moors (*g*) who remained in the country, were allowed no alternative but death or baptism; and these forced conversions having brought them within the cognizance of (*h*) the

* Hist. of the Expulsion of the Moriscos, by Gaddes.

Inquisition,* four thousand were for apostacy committed to the flames, and according to one historian three thousand, according to another five thousand houses, were left without inhabitants in the districts of that horrible tribunal, multitudes having withdrawn to Barbary for safety. Still the formal and entire expulsion of the Moors was a measure so iniquitous and impolitic, that all the bigotry of the Spanish ecclesiastics required more than a century for its accomplishment, and it was not effected until the year 1609.

While Castile exhibited only a long series of distraction and imbecility, Portugal presented a very different object. Alfonso, the first king of the Portuguese, had assumed the royal title in the year 1139; and it has been remarked in * the twenty-first lecture, that the whole interval of time between the appointment of his father to the dignity of count of Portugal, fifty years earlier than that event, and the beginning of the fourteenth century, was an almost uninterrupted series of aggrandisement and improvement. Nor was this progress of Portuguese greatness then discontinued. Through the fourteenth century we observe, with a single exception, a succession of the wisest and ablest sovereigns; and the fifteenth was en-

* Hist. of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes by Geddes.

† Vol. 2. p. 552.

nobled by that splendid train of maritime discovery, which appears to have been the peculiar destination of this people. Even the exception, which occurred in the former of these two centuries, may be shown to have contributed to promote the greatness by contributing to establish the independence of Portugal.

The interruption of the progress of this monarchy, to which I have now alluded, began with the reign of Ferdinand in the year 1367, and continued until his death, which occurred in the year 1383, or through a space of sixteen years. During these sixteen years * the nation was distracted by the troubles, which were occasioned by the indiscretion and unsteadiness of Ferdinand, and particularly by his irregular marriage with Leonora de Meneses, whom he had taken from her husband; discontents were excited at home, and the nation was twice involved in war with the Castilians. But to discover the tendency of this remarkable deviation from the general course of the Portuguese government, we must look to the succeeding reign, in the very beginning of which we shall find the decisive and memorable battle of Aljubarota, which for a period of (*h*) nearly two centuries suspended the efforts of the Castilians for the subjugation of the neighbouring kingdom. Two wars, in which Ferdinand was wan-

* *Hist. de Portugal par De la Clede*, tome 1. 302—330.

tonly engaged with that people, had been terminated by the mediation of the see of Rome, the former on conditions favourable to the Castilians, the latter on conditions favourable to the Portuguese. The two nations were thus excited each against the other during the imprudent reign of Ferdinand; and (*k*) the embarrassed state in which he left the succession tempting the king of Castile to renew hostilities in support of his pretension, while Juan a prince of ability was in possession of the crown, a decisive engagement established the distinctness of the two governments, which, as they advanced towards maturity, must otherwise have soon been disposed to engage in a struggle for dominion. A similar interruption, but of shorter continuance, * has been remarked in the earlier period of the history of Portugal; and it was shown that it was the crisis of the establishment of the papal ascendancy over the government of the country. The one therefore determined its relation to the see of Rome, the other its independence of the crown of Spain; and the greatness of Portugal appears to have advanced in a career interrupted only by such deviations, as were necessary for ascertaining its situation in these important particulars.

It has been mentioned that Ferdinand king

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* Vol. 2 p. 552, 553.

of Aragon, by his marriage with Isabella sister of the king of Castile, had effected a union of these two Spanish monarchies previously to the reduction of the kingdom of Granada. This union was accomplished in the year 1475; and it is observable that only thirty-three years before that event the kingdom of Naples had been wrested from the family of Anjou, and in addition to that of Sicily had been united to the kingdom of Aragon. It * has been stated that the peculiar function of the kingdom of Aragon, which chiefly affords a solution of its distinctness from that of Castile, was the concern which it took in the politics of the Mediterranean states; and the opinion receives confirmation from the shortness of the interval between the acquisition of the kingdom of Naples and the union effected with Castile. The object of the distinctness of Aragon appears to have been fully attained, when this connection was formed with southern Italy, and its union with Castile was then the natural process, by which the connection with the two Sicilies was extended to the whole of Spain.

The causes which so long postponed the final reduction of the Moors of the peninsula, have been already assigned. If from the observations just now made concerning the kingdoms of Portugal and Aragon, we recur to the situation

* Vol. 2. p. 557.

of Castile, we shall discover the bearings of this postponement on the general interests.

When, in the year 1414,* the sons of the king of Portugal proposed to signalise their valour by taking the city of Ceuta from the Moors of Africa, it was objected to the enterprise, that its success, by weakening the Moors of Granada, would too much aggrandise the Castilians. The objection appears to have been unfounded, since that city was actually taken in the following year, and the apprehended consequence did not follow. But though the politicians of that period overrated the importance of that particular place, it was a reasonable and well-founded persuasion, that whatever cause would have at that time in any considerable degree enfeebled the Moors of Spain, must have given a very dangerous ascendancy to the power of Castile. Here then we discover an important influence of the postponement of the extinction of the Moorish power in Spain, as it served to retain the kingdom of Castile in that moderate condition, which permitted Portugal to advance unmolested in its career of greatness. Had the Castilians advanced with as little interruption as the Portuguese towards the completion of the destination of their monarchy, they must have overpowered the latter long before the

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* De la Clede, tome 1. p. 392.

reign of Philip II, and consequently before the accomplishment of those maritime enterprises, which appear to have been the appropriate objects of the distinctness of Portugal. Aragon also, it has been observed, had completed its connection with Sicily and Naples but thirty-three years before its union with Castile. The same interruption therefore of the progress of the Castilian government must have favoured the attainment of the respective objects of the two neighbouring kingdoms, permitting the Aragonians to add the southern region of Italy to their acquisitions, and allowing the Portuguese to retain and strengthen that independence, which was indispensable to their achievements of discovery and conquest.

Nor were the influences of this retardation confined to the Spanish peninsula and its dependencies. The connection effected by Aragon between Italy and Spain had an immediate bearing on the approaching struggles of the house of Austria, which succeeded to the crown of Spain in the person of the emperor Charles V; and the adventurous enterprise of Portugal not only wrought a present revolution in the commercial and political relations of the world, but must be regarded as affecting, in its remoter consequences, the whole destiny of mankind to the most distant generations. Most important therefore was that delay of the ag-

grandisement of the Castilian government, which afforded opportunities to the less considerable monarchies of Aragon and Portugal for discharging functions so extensively interesting.

Before I quit this part of my subject, I must notice the very striking circumstances, which appear to have predisposed the Moorish kingdom of Granada to receive its termination from Castile. The prosperity of this kingdom had been checked from time to time by various seditions, in which the Castilians occasionally interfered; but in the year 1483, or nine years before its subjugation, an event occurred, the consequences of which entirely disabled it for presenting any effectual opposition to the arms of Ferdinand. * Muley-Albohacen king of Granada, being aged blind and feeble, ordered the execution of a number of his children, for the purpose of securing the succession to those which he had by a second marriage; one however of the former, named Muley Boaldigen or Boabdil, was saved from the massacre, and was soon afterwards proclaimed king by a party of discontented nobles. From this moment the harmony of the state was at an end, and its speedy destruction became inevitable,† especially as the Moors of Granada no longer received assistance from Africa, either because

* *Revol. de l'Espagne*, tome 3. p. 252, &c.

† *Mariana*, book 25. ch. 3.

those of Africa were engaged in other wars, or because the Christians were now masters of the communication between the two continents. Thus was accordingly concluded by the conquest of Granada the dominion of the Moors in Spain, when it had subsisted seven hundred and eighty years.

Ferdinand by this conquest became sovereign of the whole of the peninsula except Portugal and Navarre : Portugal long afterwards maintained its distinctness, and again recovered it after an interval of sixty years ; but Navarre was speedily absorbed into the new monarchy of Spain. In the year 1285 the little kingdom of Navarre, by the marriage of its queen, had passed into the royal family of France, but after an interval of forty-three years, or in the year 1328, it was separated from the royal family, though still governed by sovereigns of the same nation. The people of Navarre admitted females to the succession of their crown, and the troubles which followed the death of Charles VII. of France, afforded a favourable opportunity for the observance of this peculiarity of their government. In the new line, that of the family of Evreux, the kingdom continued without interruption to its extinction. From the year 1328 the tranquillity of Navarre was much disturbed, but from the year 1425 its history was a series of perpetual agitation. The conquest of

Navarre was effected by Ferdinand king of Castile and Aragon in the year 1512, though it was not finally subdued until the year 1521; and though this event must necessarily have followed the union of the two more considerable monarchies, yet must it be conceived to have been considerably facilitated by the dissensions, which during so long a period harassed and exhausted this little state. These dissensions indeed at length presented the occasion, by the assistance of which it was actually accomplished. Navarre * had long been divided by factions which were headed by two powerful families, and the kings had maintained their authority only by an unremitting vigilance in preserving the balance of the power of these parties; but in the year 1490, John III. abandoned the wise conduct of his predecessors, and attaching himself to one of the two parties, drove the other into a connection with Ferdinand, who eagerly availed himself of the opportunity of farther aggrandisement.

Whether we regard Navarre as forming with Aragon and Castile a little system of political interests, in which it served to maintain an equilibrium between those other states, or as a medium of national communication between the neighbouring countries of France and Spain, which would otherwise have been separated

* *Revol. d'Espagne*, tome 3, p. 472. 473.

from mutual intercourse by the Pyrenean mountains; in either view the utility of its separate existence must have ceased in the time of Ferdinand. When Aragon and Castile had been united under the same sovereign, Navarre was no longer required as a political counterpoise, which should balance their opposing interests; and when the time was approaching, in which Spain was to be connected with Austria, and involved in a long series of hostility with France, it could no longer be expedient, that the latter country should be politically connected with a territory included within the limits of the former.

To conclude this view of the progress of the government of Spain, it remains to particularise the circumstances which effected its connection with the house of Austria, and during the reign of the emperor Charles V. united it with the German empire. Philip,* archduke of Austria, and son of the emperor Maximilian, had married Joanna the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Aragon. Isabella, in whose right alone Ferdinand had become king of Castile, died in the year 1504, having appointed Ferdinand to be regent of that kingdom, until her grandson Charles, the son of Philip, should have attained to full age. In this arrangement and its consequences several

* Robertson's Charles V, vol. 2 book 1.

circumstances deserving attention are discoverable. Philip, during a visit to Spain, had offended Isabella, who on this account bequeathed the regency to her husband, instead of her son-in-law, her daughter Joanna having been necessarily excluded on account of her entire incapacity of mind. The appointment of Isabella however did not long subsist. The pride of the Castilians revolted against the government of a king of Aragon, and the severe and unamiable character of Ferdinand rendered them still more averse from submitting to his authority; two years therefore after the death of Isabella Ferdinand was set aside, and Joanna and Philip were declared queen and king of Castile. But the reign of Philip having been terminated by a fever within three months after his elevation, it became unavoidable to commit the regency again to the king of Aragon, who by his prudent administration soon reconciled the Castilians to his government, and by the conquest of Navarre completed the monarchy of Spain. His death, which happened in the year 1516, put an end to the regency after a duration of four years, and left to Charles V, who was then aged sixteen, the united crowns of Castile Aragon and Navarre.

In the events which occurred between the death of Isabella in the year 1504 and that of Ferdinand in the year 1516, we may discover a

singular combination of circumstances favourable to the succession of Charles V, while it must be acknowledged that some such combination was necessarily required for transferring the sovereignty of Spain to a family of German princes. The incurable incapacity of Joanna just fitted her for such a crisis. Utterly unable to exercise the powers of government, she could not become the object of the choice of the Castilians, and was qualified only to be the medium, through which the royal authority should be transmitted; the original appointment of Ferdinand, while it offended the Castilians, disposed them to admit more cheerfully the pretensions of the Austrian family by transferring the regency to the archduke Philip; the death of Philip, occurring within so short an interval, left an opportunity to Ferdinand for exercising vigour and activity in regulating and extending the monarchy of Spain; and the death of Ferdinand, happening as soon as his grandson Charles could be considered competent to assume the government, removed every impediment which might have been presented by his possession of the sovereign power, while his wise nomination of the celebrated Ximenes to the regency during the absence of his grandson provided the means of overcoming the jealousies of his people.

Such was the curious arrangement of circum-

stances, which prepared the grand crisis of the Spanish government. A period had been recently put to the dominion of the Moors, which had discharged its secondary and accessory functions, and was become superfluous and inconvenient to the system of Europe; and the Spanish government was from this time to assume its station as a principal member of that system, connected with the others by the most intimate and important relations. The primary character of this new member of the general system appears to have consisted in furnishing a support to the papacy, which was just then to be exposed to the assaults of the reformers. For such a destination it was specially qualified both by its former, and by its subsequent circumstances. Its long continued contests with the infidels, now terminated by complete success, had cherished in it, more than any other country, a crusading spirit of bigotry, which was easily directed into this new channel; and the various causes which afterwards conspired to enfeeble and exhaust it, none indeed more effectually than this very bigotry, disqualified it for giving to the see of Rome, that overbearing assistance, which might have proved disproportionate to the resources of the reformed states. Nor was there any other combination by which, in the immediate crisis of the Reformation, it could so effectually support

the papacy, as that which connected it with the empire. Germany was the country in which that great revolution of the religious and political interests of Europe was primarily effected ; and it was important that the sovereign should be retained in his allegiance to the see of Rome, while the Reformation should be maintained by the inferior members of that complex and loosely-connected government. As the separation of religious sentiment in the empire was the very principle of that political balance, which was afterwards established throughout Europe, it was necessary that the head of the empire should by such a connection as that of the Spanish succession be bound indissolubly to the support of the existing opinions, lest by embracing the Reformation he should put an end to the struggle of the two parties.

While the other governments of the peninsula were engaged in this course of operations, Portugal began and prosecuted her splendid series of discovery and conquest in the distant regions of the earth, and even led the Spanish monarchy to emulate her enterprising spirit : new worlds were suddenly thrown open to the energies of Europe, just as the system of its political relations was beginning to be adjusted ; and while new resources were furnished to its states, the general excitement of industry gave importance to the lower orders

in every community, and introduced into its monarchies (*l*) some portion of republican independence.

It is remarkable that not only the practicability of circumnavigating Africa had been ascertained by the ancients, but even (*m*) some progress had been made in a later age by the navigators of the north in the discovery of the existence of a western continent; so that both the memorable enterprises of this period had been anticipated. The accounts which have been given of two antient circumnavigations of Africa, have indeed been very generally questioned; the * great geographer however of the present age has declared his persuasion of their authenticity, and has even pointed out the local circumstances of winds and currents, which facilitated the attempt, as originally made from the eastern side of that continent. This first circumnavigation is said to have been effected by Necho king of Egypt, about six hundred years before the Christian æra. The other, which he believes to have been effected not long afterwards, is said to have been conducted by Hanno a Carthaginian, and to have been begun from the west. All other knowledge of these expeditions having been lost, these accounts were regarded by subse-

* Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 676, &c. Lond. 1800.

quent writers as fictitious. The Portuguese however were not destitute of information fitted to encourage an adventurous mind to attempt again this great experiment of maritime enterprise. * Independently of other information concerning the form and extent of Africa, which might have been current among the Arabians, and therefore might have been communicated to the Christian inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula, the *great or ambient sea* is particularly described by Abulfeda; an Arabian writer who died in the year 1331. It has been accordingly related of prince Henry, the illustrious patron of Portuguese discovery, that he returned from the siege of Ceuta in Africa impressed with a strong disposition to attempt the discovery of unknown countries.

To the accomplishment of this important and arduous undertaking, and the consequent establishment of an Indian empire, Portugal appears to have been an instrument most appropriately adapted. Mountainous yet (n) fertile, it was fitted to nourish a bold and crowded population; stretching along the western ocean, it was fitted to dispose its inhabitants to encounter the hazards of extended navigation; adjacent to the Atlantic shore of the African continent, it tempted them to proceed in their coasting voyages from one promontory to ano-

* Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 687, 688.

ther, until they should reach its long-sought termination; and wrested by a crusade from the dominion of the Moors, it was inhabited by a people filled with an unconquerable zeal for the propagation of their religion among unbelieving nations. Even the limitation of Portugal on its northern side appears to have contributed its share of influence. (*o*) Separated from the bay of Biscay by the interposition of Spanish provinces, while it extended on the south to the vicinity of Africa, it seems to have been repelled from European connection, that it might devote itself to the circumnavigation of the southern continent. The princes too of this country formed an extraordinary succession of able sovereigns, and even the exceptions from this general description appear, as has been already remarked, to have been instrumental in settling the external relations of the government. But the character of prince Henry, the great patron of discovery, is in this view deserving of particular attention; and the difficulties which he encountered, afford a decisive proof, that in less favourable circumstances the grand enterprise must have been impracticable. The judicious and indefatigable patronage of such a prince could alone surmount the (*p*) impediments presented by the timidity of his countrymen;

————— the genius then
 Of navigation, that in hopeless sloth
 Had slumbered on the vast Atlantic deep
 For idle ages, starting, heard at last
 The Lusitanian prince, who, heaven-inspired,
 To love of useful glory roused mankind,
 And in unbounded commerce mixed the world.*

The Portuguese voyages of discovery † began so early as the year 1410, when prince Henry sent out two ships, which proceeded sixty leagues beyond cape Nam, significantly thus denominated from the Portuguese negative, as the supposed limit of naval adventure. In the year 1420 the same prince sent out three ships, two of which for the first time ventured into the ocean, where they discovered Madeira and some other islands. But the progress of discovery was so slow, that Henry did not live to see its termination. From the year 1420 fifty years had elapsed before any vessel doubled the cape of Sierra Leone; nor ‡ was it until the year 1484, that Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the southern cape of Africa, which he called the Cape of Storms, but his sovereign more appropriately named the Cape of Good Hope. Strong however as was the hope of completing the navigation to India,

* Thompson, Summer, 1006, &c.
 liv. 11.

† De la Clede,
 ‡ Ibid. liv. 13.

thirteen years elapsed before the concluding effort was exerted, Vasques de Gama not having been sent out until the year 1497. Then indeed the Portuguese felt an ardent interest in the prosecution of the enterprise, and the foundation of their oriental empire was laid (q) by the consummate conduct of Alfonso Albuquerque, who was sent out in the year 1508, and held the regency of India little more than five years.

The commerce of the * east has been in every age the grand source of commercial prosperity. The natural productions of these countries afford gratifications, which have been uniformly prized by the luxurious; and such are the ingenuity, the industry, and the moderation of their inhabitants, that their manufactures, both by their elegance and their cheapness, command the most eager competition. It has been estimated by † Robertson, that the Portuguese, when they had discovered the naval communication with India, might supply the nations of Europe with these commodities at a rate less than one half of that at which they had been sold by the Venetians. The historian of the league of Cambrai says ‡ that they sold these goods at one fourth of the

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* Robertson's Hist. Disquisition concerning India, p. 2. Lond. 1799. † Ibid. p. 201, 202. ‡ Tome 2, p. 265.

customary price. The effect of this sudden and considerable diminution of price was two-fold ; it at once deprived the Venetians of that traffic, by which their republic had been chiefly aggrandised ; and it afterwards gave occasion to a considerable augmentation of the demand for eastern goods in every part of Europe, and consequently encreased very much the activity of that domestic industry, by which the means of purchasing these luxuries were to be provided.

It may be supposed that the Venetians would not tamely suffer the very stamina of their wealth and power to be thus destroyed ; and accordingly we find that they leagued themselves with the sultan of Egypt in opposition to the enterprises of the Portuguese, supplying him with timber and ammunition for the armaments despatched from the Red Sea. But in this instance we discover a very remarkable coincidence of remote and unconnected operations, by which the hostility of the Venetians was rendered impotent. The league of Cambrai, by which the kings of France and Spain, the pope, and the emperor, were all associated against their republic, was concluded in the year 1508, and thus critically disabled it for exerting such efforts to preserve its eastern commerce, as might too much have interfered

with the establishment of the Portuguese dominion in India.

But * we should form an imperfect conception of the nature and influence of the Portuguese discovery, if we should confine our consideration of it to the relation by which it was immediately connected with the interests of Europe. The Ottoman power had in the year 1453 been established within the limits of Europe by the capture of Constantinople, and was prepared to give to the resources of the Mahometan nations all the energy of a new sovereignty. The eastern dominion of the Saracens had given them the possession of the commerce of India, which had proved to them, as to other nations enjoying the same advantage, a source of prosperity; and we should therefore regard the discoveries and establishments of the Portuguese, not merely as the instruments of new arrangements of the commerce of Christian nations, but as wresting from the Mahometans the important traffic of the east, at the very time when the recent triumph of the Ottoman power had rendered them most formidable antagonists to the system of Europe. The enterprises of the Portuguese, occurring just when this power was pressing most violently

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* Mickle's translation of the *Lusiad*, vol. 1. p. 175. *Dubl.* 1791.

on the Christian states, disabled it for exceeding those limits, within which its operation was beneficial. The Turkish power, deprived of the trade of India, might serve to compress into a closer connection the political system of Christendom, and to repel its commercial activity from the ancient channels into the more extensive ranges of modern traffic ; but, if possessed of that trade, it would have crushed instead of compressing, it would have repelled the commerce of the west, without leaving any other course open to its efforts. These fatal consequences were prevented by the extraordinary successes of the Portuguese, which cut off the sources of the Mahometan greatness in the east ; and their achievements may therefore be regarded, according to * the observation of the translator of the *Lusiad*, as completing the Crusades. The Portuguese were indeed actuated by a correspondent principle, (r) the propagation of the Christian faith having been a grand and prevailing motive in all these enterprises.

This other view of the importance of the Portuguese establishments in the east may explain to us the fitness of assigning to this destination a people, whom, though bordering on the ocean, their local circumstances had rendered much

* Mickle's translation of the *Lusiad*, vol. 2. p. 444. *Dubl.* 1791.

more military than commercial. India was not an unimproved and thinly inhabited country, inviting the resort of adventurers, and offering them the possession of its vacant regions. Establishments could there be effected only by efforts of military prowess, as the country was already occupied by powerful kingdoms, and the common interest of the Mahometan nations procured during almost a century the most strenuous assistance from Egypt, and from Constantinople. To bring such a country within the sphere of the commerce of Christendom, it was necessary that the exertions of military ardour, animated by a zeal for religion, should be perseveringly employed. The irruption of Tamerlane towards the end of the fourteenth century appears indeed to have weakened the Mahometan establishments in India; and thus to have prepared them for the subsequent successes of the Portuguese; but much still remained to be accomplished, and Portugal sent into the east a succession of heroes. When however the heroism and zeal of this nation had erected an Indian empire on the ruin of the Mahometan power, it might be safely transferred to a people more purely commercial. We shall accordingly find the Dutch possessing themselves of the important stations of the eastern trade during the temporary suspension of the independence of Portugal, when that kingdom

was united with the crown of Spain ; a commercial revolution which will serve to explain the bearing of that political combination.

The discovery of a naval communication with the east would have produced its effects very imperfectly, if Christopher Colon or Columbus had not at the same time discovered the existence of a western region, which was to furnish a more abundant supply of the precious metals. As the people of India require little except the productions furnished by their own industry, the trade of that country has been in all ages managed chiefly by the exportation of these metals, and for extending it a new and copious supply of them was indispensably required. This was accordingly the result of the efforts of Columbus, though it was not the object which he proposed to attain. His expectation was that he should arrive at the east by a shorter and easier course than the circumnavigation of Africa, which the Portuguese were at this time prosecuting : if he had succeeded, the two nations would have contended for the prize of Indian dominion, until both had been exhausted in the struggle ; but disappointed as he was by the discovery of an interposing continent, they peaceably co-operated to the extension of the commerce of Europe.

It is remarkable that Columbus was encouraged to attempt his enterprise by one of the

erroneous conceptions of geography then prevalent, a memorable instance of the utility of an error. * It was supposed that the difference of longitude between Europe and China was less by one hundred and fifty degrees than it is now known to be. Such an error not only presented the enterprise as more practicable in itself, but appears to have been necessary to the very principle of the undertaking, as it promised a much shorter communication with the east, than that which the Portuguese were then labouring to discover. A misapprehension so convenient (s) seems to have been the result of some imperfect notions of a western continent, which had reached the inhabitants of Europe, but had been by them confounded with their knowledge of the continent of Asia. Among the circumstances favourable to the enterprise should also be mentioned, that the compass had not at this time any variation in Europe, though † in the progress of the voyage it was discovered to deviate from the north, a discovery which filled the followers of Columbus with the apprehension, that they had arrived at the limits of the world. That this state of the polarity of the magnetic needle should have existed just at the time, which so many other

* Rennel's Geog. of Herod. p. 685, 686.

† Hist. of the New World by D. Juan Baptista Munoz, p. 159, Lond. 1797.

causes rendered favourable to voyages of remote discovery, is a coincidence which claims our especial attention.

The first discovery of Columbus, that of some of the islands in the gulph of Mexico, was effected in the year 1492, and therefore in the interval between the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope accomplished by Bartholomew de Diaz in the year 1486, and the voyage of Vaquez de Gama to India in the year 1498. But though Columbus discovered these islands, he was not the first discoverer of the continent of America. Not to speak of the discovery of the most northern part of it made by the Norwegians in the eleventh century, * Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian resident in England, excited by the general admiration of the success of Columbus, who was believed to have accomplished the much desired passage to India, undertook to arrive at the same country by a shorter course, steering towards the north-west; and in this attempt, which was made in the year 1496, he ranged along the coast of North America, whereas Columbus did not discover the continent until the year 1498. The preparation for a war with Scotland withdrew the attention of the English from such enterprises, and abandoned them to the Spaniards and Portuguese. From both Cabot however

* Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. 3. p. 6, 7. Lond. 1600.

and Columbus has been taken the honour of bestowing a name on the newly-discovered continent. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who in the year 1499, engaged in a private adventure of discovery, published on his return an account of his voyage, which attracted so much attention, that his name was after some time given to the country, which he (*t*) unfairly claimed to have first visited. In the last year of the fifteenth century * Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in sailing to India, accidentally discovered Brazil, the only important possession which has continued to be attached to Portugal; and this grand series of naval enterprises was completed by † the voyage of Magalhaens, who in the year 1520 passed into the Pacific Ocean through the strait which had been called by his name, and one of whose five ships, after he had been killed in one of the islands of that sea, accomplished (*u*) the first circumnavigation of the globe.

It only remains that I should notice the circumstances, which appropriated to Spain the discoveries of Columbus, and by sending Magalhaens also into her service, procured for her the priority of the navigation of the Pacific Ocean, though both had previously tendered their services to Portugal, the country then

* Robertson's Hist of America, vol. 1. p. 213. Lond. 1803.

† De la Clede, tome, 1. p. 627.

distinguished by its spirit of distant adventure. Columbus, who * though a Genoese, had in Portugal improved his knowledge of navigation, first proposed his enterprise to the country of his adoption, and then to that of his nativity; but the former was too deeply engaged in the prosecution of the circumnavigation of Africa, and the latter was not only unacquainted with the ocean, but (v) at this time unequal to any considerable undertaking. Disappointed in these two efforts he then placed his reliance on the governments of England and Spain, and while he despatched his brother Bartholomew to the court of Henry VII. the English sovereign, he himself resorted to Ferdinand and Isabella, with whom he at length succeeded after a tedious expectancy of seven years. In this interval the application of his brother had been approved by Henry VII; but the consent of this monarch came too late, for Columbus had already prevailed with the Spanish sovereigns. Magalhaens † appears to have been a native of Portugal, and to have been driven into the service of Spain by the refusal of Emmanuel king of that country to augment, by so small an addition as that of half a ducat each month, a pension which he enjoyed in his court, as the reward of distinguished services

* Munoz, p. 122, &c.
626.

† De la Clede, tome 1. p.

performed in India; so trivial was the motive, which prompted this navigator to avenge himself by leading the rivals of his country through another course to the Moluccas, which he maintained to belong to them in the papal distribution of the newly discovered regions of the globe.

(a) The king of Castile however having claimed a right to this province, it was agreed, through the mediation of the Roman pontiff, that Algarva should not be attached to Portugal during the life of Alfonso X. king of Castile, who died in the year 1280. De la Clede, tome 1. p. 232.

(b) The Spanish historians are not agreed about the number of the Moors, who were expelled from Spain in the year 1610: some say that they were a million, others that they were nine hundred thousand, but by most they are said to have been six hundred thousand. Geddes's Tracts, vol. 1. p. 177. Lond. 1714. In the preceding year one hundred and forty thousand had been expelled from Valentia. Ibid. p. 158. The mischievous operation of these measures was speedily experienced, for

in the year 1618 a memorial on the ruinous condition of the kingdom was delivered to Philip III. by a *junta*, which he had assembled for the purpose, and this memorial stated, that "Spain was on the point of falling to the earth, the houses being every where in ruins without any person to rebuild them, and the towns and villages having become deserts." Ibid. p. 178. Indeed the industry of the Moors had been most ignorantly urged as a motive of policy for adopting the measure of expelling them, that they might not, by working more cheaply, deprive the Spaniards of the means of subsistence. Ibid. p. 85.

(c) The expulsion of the Moors had been originally proposed by pope Clement IV, who urged the king of Aragon to drive them from Valentia, which that prince had subdued; but though favoured by the clergy, and by the commons whom they influenced, it was at this time so vigorously resisted by the barons, to whom the Moors were generally vassals, that it was then relinquished, nor was it resumed during more than three centuries, until the barons had been deprived of much of their power. Ibid. p. 31—35.

(d) It was then agreed, that the Moors should be governed according to their own laws and customs, and by their own judge; that they should retain the half of their

mosques, with the free exercise of their worship; and that they should be free to retain or to sell their properties, and to remain in Spain, or to retire to Africa, or any other country. *Precis Hist. par Florian*, p. 135.

(e) During the seven years which followed the reduction of Granada, the Moors were not much molested by the Spaniards on account of their religion; but Ferdinand, not being bound by any engagement in regard to the Jews, issued an edict within three months from that conquest, requiring them to be baptized, or to depart from the kingdom within four months. The greatest part emigrated, and the main body of these retired to Portugal, where they were afterwards forced to submit to baptism, to a number exceeding three hundred thousand persons; more than eight hundred thousand had been driven out of Spain. *Geddes*, vol. 1. p. 5—8.

(f) When some of the principal men of the Moors exerted their influence with their countrymen in opposition to the arts of Ximenes, he, laying all humanity, saith his biographer, almost aside, caused them to be apprehended, and to be confined in dungeons, like the most atrocious malefactors. *Ibid.* p. 9. And when the bishop of Granada, who was commissioned to instruct the converts, had ordered the psalms, the gospels, and the epistles, to be

translated into the Arabic language for their use, he was much blamed by Ximenes, who declared, that whensoever the bible should be translated into vulgar tongues, it would be pernicious to Christianity. Ibid. p. 13. From these accounts we may form a judgment of the conversion of the Moors.

(g) Several thousands of Moors however, who paid to the government ten dollars each for their passage, embarked for Barbary, the king having accepted the proposal, as he was in great want of money. Ibid. p. 15.

(h) The Inquisition had been regularly established in Castile in the year 1478. Mariana, b. 24. ch. 7. In an assembly of the clergy convened by Charles V, in which the Inquisitor General presided, it was determined, agreeably to a determination which the fourth council of Toledo, assembled in the year 681, had formed in regard to the Jews, that, though it had been wrong to compel the Moors to be baptized, the baptisms were nevertheless so valid, as to render them liable to the penalties of apostacy. Geddes, vol. 1. p. 41. Carranza, p. 338.

(i) The battle of Aljubarota was fought in the year 1385, and the conquest of Portugal was effected by Philip II. of Spain in the year 1580.

(k) The last king having died without male issue, the king of Castile claimed the succes-

sion as the husband of his daughter, but the people, averse from the dominion of the Castilians, set aside his pretension, and raised a new family to the throne. De la Clede, tome 1. p. 331—359.

(*l*) It is remarkable that commerce, by giving prosperity to towns, has in modern ages been the principle of political independence, though Cicero, agreeably to the prejudice of a military people, pronounced commercial dealing to be unsuitable to a man of a liberal mind, as being supposed to render falsehood almost indispensable. De Officiis, lib. 1. cap. 42.

(*m*) A country, which was probably the coast of Labrador or Newfoundland, was discovered by an Iclander named Biarn in the year 1001, and called Vinland on account of some vines, which are said to have grown there. From the year 1121 this country appears to have been forgotten in the north, and that part of Greenland which had embraced Christianity, having been lost, Iceland also having declined from its former condition, and the northern nations being wasted by a pestilence, and weakened by internal feuds, all remembrance of that country was at length utterly obliterated, and the Norwegian Vinlanders themselves, having no longer any connection with Europe, were either incorporated among their barbarian neighbours, or

overpowered by them and destroyed. Introd. a l'hist. de Dannemarc par Mallet, ch. 11.

(n) Portugal was called the *marrow of Spain*. Resandii Antiq. Lusit. l. 3. quoted by Mickle. Transl. of the Lusiad, vol. 1. p. xxxvii. Dubl. 1791.

(o) In the later relations of Portugal the interposition of these Spanish provinces has served in particular to detach the country more effectually from a political connection with France, and to leave it open for forming one with England.

(p) The endeavours which had been made for about eighty years, to discover the East Indies by the southern ocean, had been the favourite topic of complaint, and never was any measure of government more unpopular than the expedition of Gama. Emmanuel's council were almost unanimous against the attempt. Some dreaded the introduction of wealth, and its attendants luxury and effeminacy; while others affirmed, that no adequate advantages could arise from so perilous and remote a navigation: others were alarmed lest the Egyptian sultan should be displeased; and others foresaw that success would combine all the princes of Christendom in a league for the destruction of Portugal. In short, if glory, interest, or the propagation of the gospel were desired, Africa and Ethiopia, they said, afforded both nearer and

more advantageous fields. The expressions of the thousands who crowded the shore when Gama gave his sails to the wind, are thus described by Osorio, from whom these particulars have been selected.—*A multis tamen interim is fletus atque lamentatio fiebat, ut funus efferre viderentur. Sic enim dicebant : en quo miseros mortales provexit cupiditas et ambitio ! Potuitne gravius supplicium hominibus istis constitui, si in se scelestum aliquod admisissent ? Est enim illis immensi maris longitudo peragrandæ, fluctus immanes difficillima navigatione superandi, vitæ discrimen in locis infinitis obeundum. Non fuit multo tolerabilius in terra quovis genere mortis absumi, quam tam procul a patria marinis fluctibus sepeliri ? Hæc et alia multa in hanc sententiam dicebant, cum omnia multo tristiora fingere præ metu cogerentur.*—The tender emotion and fixed resolution of Gama, and the earnest affection of the multitudes on the shore, are thus added by the historian—*Gama tamen, quamvis lacrymas suorum desiderio funderet, rei tamen bene gerendæ fiducia confirmatus, alacriter in navem faustis ominibus conscendit—Qui in litore consistebant, non prius abscedere voluerunt, quam naves vento secundo plenissimis velis ab omnium conspectu remotæ sunt. De Rebus Emmanuelis, lib. 1. p. 17. Coloniae 1586.* It is delightful to see the energy of an heroic mind exalting it above the level of the crowd.

(q) He established two capitals of this Indian empire, Goa and Malacca, having extended his settlements from Ormuz in Persia to the Chinese sea. Of the wisdom and justice with which he formed this empire the noblest attestation was borne in the affection with which his memory was cherished among the natives: the princes of India clothed themselves in mourning on his death; and it became customary for the Mohammedan and Gentoo inhabitants of Goa, when wronged by his countrymen, to weep at his tomb, utter their complaints to his *manes*, and call upon his God to avenge their injuries. Mickle's Transl. of the Lusiad, vol. 1. p. cxxvi—cxxx. The Indian empire of Portugal was completed by John de Castro, the fourth viceroy. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 452, note. It is said that he was the first who brought the orange-tree to Europe, and that he esteemed the gift thus bestowed upon his country as the greatest of his services. Ibid. vol. 1. p. clxx.

(r) About six years after Gama's discovery of India, the sultan of Egypt sent Maurus, the abbot of the monks at Jerusalem, who inhabited mount Sion, on an embassy to pope Julius II. The sultan, threatening to treat the Christians of the east with great severity in case of refusal, entreated the pope to desire Emmanuel king of Portugal to send no more fleets to the Indian seas. The pope sent Maurus to Emmanuel, who

in reply assured him, that no threats, no dangers, could make him alter his resolutions, lamenting that it had not yet been in his power to fulfil his promise of demolishing the sepulchre, and of erasing from the earth every memorial of Mohammed. This, he says, was the first purpose of sending his fleets to India—*Nobis enim, cum iter in Indiam classibus nostris aperire, et regiones majoribus nostris incognitas explorare decrevimus, hoc propositum fuit, ut ipsum Mahumetanæ sectæ caput extingueremus.* Osorii, p. 111. But whatever they professed, or even felt in Europe, the Portuguese were in the east too much occupied in acquiring territory and riches to give much attention to religious concerns; and we find them at length more anxious to reduce the ancient Christians of that country into subjection to the see of Rome, than to proselyte the infidels. *Hist. of the Church of Malabar, by Geddes, p. 4. Lond. 1694.* In the year 1599 a synod was assembled at Diamper, in which the spiritual conquest of the oriental Christians was effected. But from this very time is dated the commencement of the decline of the Portuguese power in India, and this decline has been in part at least ascribed to the ambitious policy manifested in this transaction. *Ibid. p. 412, note.* The Christians found by the Portuguese in India had during thirteen centuries been governed by a suc-

cession of bishops sent to them by the patriarch of Antioch : the churches on the sea-coast were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, and to adopt the doctrines of Rome ; but the Christians of the interior country rejected the authority of Rome and the Inquisition, and sought refuge in the mountains under the protection of the native princes. These Protestants of the east, as they are justly denominated by Dr. Buchanan, lay concealed in their retreats, and were scarcely known to exist, when they were discovered by the enterprising zeal of this modern apostle. Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, p. 109. Lond. 1811. The heretical opinions and practices of which they had been accused by the Portuguese were, 1. that they did not adore images ; 2. that they held but three sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, and holy orders ; 3. that they made no use of oils ; 4. that they had no knowledge of confirmation or extreme unction ; 5. that they abhorred auricular confession ; 6. that they held many enormous errors about the eucharist, inasmuch that it seemed probable that the Protestants might have had their doctrine from them ; 7. that they imposed no restrictions on the clergy in regard to marriage ; and 8. that they rejected the supremacy of Rome. Pref. to the hist. of the Synod of Diamper. Dr. Buchanan reports that the doctrines of these Sy-

rian Christians at this day are few in number, but pure, and agree in all the essential articles with the church of England ; and in particular that they hold the same doctrines of atonement and sanctification, and that their creed accords with the Athanasian, except that it does not contain the damnatory clauses. *Christ. Res.* p. 123, 124.

(s) Plato, among other ancient sayings which had been communicated to Solon by the Egyptian priests, has stated that the Atlantis, afterwards sunk, held the same latitude in the ocean with the entrance of the Mediterranean, that several islands were on the farther side, and beyond them a continent. Ælian also has repeated an old tradition, which says that Europe, Asia, and Africa, were islands every where encompassed with water, but that the true continent was in the ocean, abounding in gold and silver. In conformity to other traditions Virgil and Pliny mention the isles of the Hesperides, representing them as situated to the west, forty days from the Gergades, or as Columbus interpreted it, the Cape de Verde. It seems in fact that Columbus directed his course by that statement. Probably he believed that, in sailing through the ocean for the discovery of the East Indies, he might also discover by the way some happy countries. *Munoz*, p. 132, 133. On the other hand, the ancients extended Asia to an

enormous length towards the east. Seneca even pretended that if the wind were favourable a few days would be sufficient for sailing from Spain to the Indies. Ibid. p. 126. From the time of the discovery of the Canary islands, effected in the year 1420, men began to give attention to these old traditions, and a book was circulated, said to have been written by Aristotle, in which it was alleged that the Carthaginians had discovered a large island at a great distance from the continent, the natural advantages of which had rendered the government so apprehensive that the mother-country might be eclipsed by the colony, that they had resolved that it should be relinquished. Though several mariners had vainly endeavoured to discover this island, it was represented under the name of Antilla in most of the maps of the fifteenth century ; and Columbus accordingly gave this name to those which he discovered in his first voyage. Ibid. p. 112—115. “ We learn from Arabian geographers that at least in the twelfth century, when Lisbon was still under the dominion of the Arabs, several inhabitants of that city undertook a voyage of discovery in pursuit of the western countries. At the end of thirty days’ sail they found several islands, one of which was stored with abundance of sheep, but the flesh of which they could not taste, it was so bitter ; and another inhabited by men ; here

they were told that the ocean was only navigable for thirty days farther to the west, as continued darkness stopt the course there. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, one street in Lisbon preserved the remembrance of this western voyage, and was called *Almagrurim*, which signifies in English *those that go astray*. Notices et Extraits de la Bibliotheque du Roi. tome 11. p. 25." Munoz, p. 119, note.

An error similar to that which encouraged the western enterprise of discovery, may be supposed to have favoured the other grand enterprise of the circumnavigation of Africa; for Mickle remarks that Africa was believed to terminate at the equinoctial line. Transl. of the *Lusiad*, vol. 1. p. 48.

(*t*) Mickle has communicated the following characteristic anecdote of Amerigo Vespucci from his letters. Describing his voyage to America, when he had passed the line, he says, "desirous to be the namer and discoverer of the pole-star of the other hemisphere, I lost my sleep many nights in contemplating the stars of the other pole." He then laments that as his instruments could not discover any star of less motion than ten degrees, he had not the satisfaction to give *a name* to any one: but as he observed four stars in the form of an almond, which had but little motion, he hoped that in his next voyage he should be able to mark them

out. This, he remarks, affords a good comment on the character of the man, who had the art to defraud Columbus, by giving his own name to America, of which he challenged the discovery. Nearly fifty years before the voyage of Amerigo Vespucci the Portuguese had crossed the line ; and Diaz fourteen, and Gama almost three years before, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, had discovered seven stars in the constellation of the southern pole, and from the appearance of the four most luminous had given it the name of *the cross*, a figure which it better resembles than that of an almond. Ibid. vol. 1. p. lxxx.

(u) This voyage was begun on the tenth day of August in the year 1519, and completed on the eighth day of September in the year 1522 ; so that it occupied three years and twenty-nine days. De la Clede, tome 1. p. 627.

(v) This proposal appears to have been made in the year 1484, the same in which the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was effected. Columbus however might have succeeded, if he had contented himself with a title of dignity and the perpetual government of the countries which he might discover ; but he required extraordinary honours and prerogatives. When his proposal was declined, a vessel was secretly despatched to rob Columbus of the glory and advantage of the discovery ; the attempt was unsuccessful ; and the ungenerous meanness of

the design determined Columbus to abandon Portugal. Munoz, p. 136, 137.

(w) Genoa had begun to decay in the year 1381 ; and from that time her history is a series of discord and humiliation. Lect. 30, note (u).

(x) Bartholomew, who had been despatched in the year 1485, was taken by pirates in his passage, and chained to the oar. At length he effected his escape, and in the year 1489 arrived in England, where for some time he found it necessary to seek a subsistence by making maps and sea-charts. When at last he was able to procure an audience of the king, the scheme was approved, and he was sent to bring Columbus to England ; but before he arrived in Spain, his brother had already sailed on his second voyage. Henry's hist. of Britain, vol. 12. p. 311.

(y) As the court was unwilling to accede to the conditions required by Columbus, he had resolved to abandon Spain, and seek a more favourable reception in France, or England, when he was recalled by the queen at the suggestion of two of her ministers. The conditions were that Columbus and his heirs should enjoy the dignity of admiral in whatever lands he should discover ; that he should be governor-general of all such lands, with the authority of nominating for the special government of each island or province three persons, from whom one was to be selected by the king ; that he and his

lieutenants should in their departments hear and determine all suits in law arising out of the new commerce ; that he should have the tenth part of the profits of all wares and fruits ; and that he should contribute the eighth part of the expenses required for fitting out the ships to be employed in the commerce of the new world, receiving a corresponding share of the advantages. He was also honoured with the title of don, which was then conferred only on persons of noble birth. Munoz, p. 149—154.

LECTURE XXXIV.

Of the history of Russia from the building of Kiof in the year 430 to the end of the reign of Ivan III. in the year 1505.

Kiof founded	430
Novgorod founded	450
Rurik began to reign	864
Decline of Russia began	1015
Domination of the Tartars began	1243
Terminated by Ivan III.	1462

IT has been stated in * an early part of this course of lectures, that the various relations of modern Europe resolve themselves into two distinct, though still connected systems of policy, a principal one composed of the central and southern governments, and a secondary one consisting of those of the northern regions. The preceding lectures have been employed in reviewing the origin and the earlier combination of the former of these two systems in the interval between the middle of the fifth and the commencement of the sixteenth century: in this, and in the two which shall immediately follow

* Vol. 1. p. 186. lect. 4.

it, I propose to take a view of the origin and combination of the latter system within the same interval of time.

In the consideration of the northern system of Europe Russia is manifestly the object, which demands our primary attention. Stretching from Poland and Sweden on the west to the immediate vicinity of the American continent on the east, it occupied a great part of the north of Europe, and the whole of that of Asia: its great variety of climates and soils furnished it by an interior commerce, though not with the luxuries, yet with all the necessaries of life, and even from its eastern provinces with an ample supply of the precious metals: and while the eastern nations have found their way to its markets with the productions of more luxurious regions, the nations of the west have sought in this great empire the sources of maritime greatness, by purchasing the naval stores with which it abounded. A country possessing means of superiority thus considerable and various, well deserves to be regarded as the principal member of a system; it was long barbarous indeed in comparison with the improved communities, which constituted the southern and principal system of Europe, but it exhibited the dignity of a rude colossus in the vicinity of the more finished, though diminutive productions, of more cultivated art.

If we examine the composition of this secondary system, consisting of the four governments of Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, with the dependent state of Norway, we shall perceive that it embraced two distinct classes of original population, the Slavian tribes, which furnished the inhabitants of (a) Russia and Poland, and the Gothic or Teutonic, which supplied those of the more western countries. In this part of the arrangement of the system we observe a distinctness of population, which appears to have served to maintain the separation of its principal member, the Russian government, from the southern and more considerable system of Europe, into which it might otherwise have been prematurely absorbed; while the German character of the population of the less important governments, those of Denmark Sweden and Norway, served at the same time to constitute a circuitous communication, by which in the more modern period of the history of Europe the superior improvements of the southern countries might be transmitted to it, without confounding that separation, and destroying the arrangement, which distributed the various governments of Europe into two combinations of political interests. If too, which seems not improbable, this northern empire be the destined instrument of improvement for the northern countries of Asia, while the British go-

vernment should perform the same function in the regions of the south, the Tartar character of its population may here exercise an important influence, by connecting it with the countries upon which it is to act.

Nor was the diversity of local position less aptly suited to the several functions of the various members of the northern system, than this twofold distinctness of its population. Russia, besides that it was closely connected with northern Asia, bordered also the territory of the Greek empire, and thus was favourably circumstanced for receiving from it an original stock of refinement, which, however impaired by the barbarism of succeeding ages, yet facilitated the introduction of modern civilization ; and the same locality, aided by the adoption of the Greek form of Christianity, which was itself one of the results of that situation, appears to promise another very important result in no distant period, by favouring the acquisition of some portion at least of the provinces of European Turkey. Poland in its position, as well as in its population, partook of the character of Russia, as it participated its functions in the combinations of Europe, and has latterly been in a considerable degree absorbed into its government. Denmark on the other hand was locally connected with the northern provinces of the German empire,

and has served also to connect that empire with the two governments of the Scandinavian peninsula, which formed with itself a little combination of balanced dominion, auxiliary and subordinate to the paramount interests of Russia, the primary member of the system of the north.

It has been * already remarked, that the Slavian appears to have been of a less warlike character than the Gothic nations ; and in confirmation of this remark it may be observed, that (b) in the general system of the Slavian religion no divinity has been described with the attributes of a god of war. Succeeding quietly into the places of the Goths, who had preceded them in the series of westward migration, they were not stimulated to violence, because they did not encounter opposition, nor were they soon engaged in mutual contentions, as ample room had been abandoned to them by the former inhabitants. The peaceable habits of a people so circumstanced were well suited to the geographical position of the country they occupied, for it afforded peculiar advantages of commerce. Spreading from Constantinople, then the seat of opulence and refinement, to the Baltic, which was the channel of the traffic of the north-western regions of Europe, this country became naturally a line of trade,

* Vol. 1. p. 210.

connecting the greater with the lesser Mediterranean, and consequently in this early period attained a degree of improvement then unknown in the other countries of the north. The influence of this commercial situation is particularly apparent in the aggrandisement of two cities, Kiof and (c) Novgorod, especially of the latter, which long continued to be a powerful republic; and the positions of these cities were well adjusted to the commerce by which they flourished, as the former communicated with the Black-Sea by the Dnieper, and the other was in the vicinity of the Gulf of Finland. Of the two stations Novgorod, which was the less ancient, became much the more considerable, as it was adjacent to the countries, the commodities of which attracted the traders of Constantinople, and as * the cataracts of the Dnieper formed a considerable obstruction to the communication between Kiof and the eastern capital.

It is not commonly understood that there was an early period of the history of Russia, in which this country enjoyed a comparative opulence and refinement: lost as it has been in the barbarism of a succeeding period, the refinement of Russia has been supposed to have been created by the imitative genius of some more modern sove-

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 71.

reigns, when it was in truth but recovered, like that of southern Europe, from a temporary ruin. Vladimer I, who reigned in the beginning of the eleventh century, * invited skilful workmen from Greece to embellish with churches and palaces the country which his government had rendered prosperous : before the middle of the same century † the art of painting, then not known in Italy, was received in Russia from Greece, and with mosaic work (d) was employed in ornamenting the church of Saint Sophia at Novgorod : in the year 1075 ‡ the magnificence of the presents of the Russian monarch, which consisted of gold, silver, and valuable stuffs, excited astonishment in the court of Henry IV. of Germany : and || two years afterwards such were the comparative opulence and luxury of Russia, that the troops of Poland, who had been employed there in reestablishing the sovereign on the throne, found that country as pernicious to their discipline, as Capua had been to the army of Hannibal. The wealth of Greece had indeed flowed into Russia § through various channels ; the people of this northern region had long maintained a commercial connection with the eastern empire, they had sometimes in war possessed themselves of its treasures, and some-

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* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 135. † Ibid. p. 162.

‡ Ibid. p. 182. || Ibid. p. 185. § Ibid. p. 182.

times they took them from barbarians, by whom it had been pillaged. Nor was the early refinement of Russia confined to the introduction of the opulence and the arts of Greece, but was extended also to its literature : for Vladimir is described * as employing even force to procure students for the schools which he founded ; and the † same prince, who afterwards embellished with the arts the church of Saint Sophia, is represented as himself an indefatigable student, and employing a great number of copyists in transcribing Greek compositions, that he might deposit them in the same edifice. The political relations too of this country were such as corresponded to so much of interior improvement. Not forgotten by the other states of Europe, as in a subsequent period, it ‡ was then connected by various marriages with the houses of many of the princes of Christendom, with those of the king of Poland, of (e) the second Harold of England, the emperor of Constantinople, the kings of Norway and Hungary, and the prince-bishop of Treves, thus extending its alliances through the north and from Greece to England.

This original improvement of Russia was crushed by the domination of its Tartar enemies, which was established in the year 1243,

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 135.

† Ibid. p. 161.

‡ Ibid. p. 164.

and subsisted during more than two centuries, having been suppressed only in the year 1462, when Ivan III. was advanced to the throne; the prosperity of the country had however begun to decline more than two centuries before the Tartar dominion was erected, the year 1015 * having been marked as the epoch of its deterioration and decay. The fall and restoration of such a government affords an interesting subject of philosophic contemplation.

The earliest event of the history of Russia which has been recorded, is the building of Kiof, which † has been referred to the year 430; and ‡ towards the middle of the same century was also founded, near the lake Ilmen, the city of Novgorod, which long continued to possess a considerable importance in the government. From this time to the ninth century the history of Russia is a blank, nor can its monarchy be traced farther backwards than the year 864, in which Rurik became possessed of the entire royalty. The § situation of Novgorod had rendered it commercial, its commerce had rendered it republican, and its republican constitution had become the prey of civil dissension. In the year 862 the inhabitants of Novgorod, who were Slavians, probably threatened with hostility by some neighbouring

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* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 53.

† Ibid. tome 1. p. 44.

‡ Ibid. p. 46, 57.

§ Ibid. p. 57—63

tribes, placed themselves under the protection of three brothers belonging to a tribe denominated Varaigne-Russians, the former part of which appellation signifies inhabitants of the coast. Rurik, the eldest of the three brothers is considered as the first prince of the Russians, the name of his tribe having been communicated to the nation, over which he and his brothers had thus acquired a sovereignty ; during two years the three brothers divided among themselves the territory which they had been called to defend, but the two others having at the end of that time died without leaving any issue, Rurik in the year 864 found himself sole possessor of the government.

The new monarch immediately distributed the towns of his little kingdom among his principal chiefs ; but it cannot be ascertained, whether they were merely entrusted to the chiefs as governments, or granted to them as feudal benefices. * The great number of towns which existed in Russia from the earliest times is a proof of the very early civilization of the country, since, however inferior to the cities of countries highly improved, they indicate at least some degree of social combination and settled industry. But this is more distinctly marked in the early references to laws, which attest at once the equity and the reflection of the people

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 67, 68.

among whom they prevailed. * From a treaty concluded with the Grecian emperor in the year 912, it appears that the Russians had even then established laws, by which a murderer, instead of merely paying a fine,^a was punished with death, and a widow was entitled to a determined portion of the property of her husband, secured to her even in cases of forfeiture; and that the practice of making bequests by will, and consequently that of writing, were at that time familiar.

Rurik, the founder of the Russian monarchy,[†] in a peaceful interval of fifteen years, found leisure for consolidating his new government. He was succeeded by his son Igor, who was an infant; but he had provided against the calamities of a minor's reign, by naming to the regency one of his relatives, who during thirty-three years was the real sovereign, and while the Russians became accustomed to acknowledge the hereditary right of the family of Rurik, conducted the affairs of the government with ability and success. The regent[‡] in the year 879 became master of Kiof, the other of the two principal cities of Russia, and made it the seat of his government. To this measure he appears to have been determined by a desire of attacking Constantinople, which attracted his avidity,

^a L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 76—78. † Ibid. p. 66.

‡ Ibid. p. 70, 75.

as it was the source of the opulence of Russia. His efforts however terminated in the treaty which has been already quoted; and in the following year he left to the son of Rurik the authority which he had so long withheld.

The removal of the seat of government from Novgorod to Kiof appears to have been intimately connected with the function, which Russia was soon required to discharge in the early system of Europe. A nation of so much comparative improvement, and consequently of so much comparative strength, extending from the vicinity of the Black Sea to the shore of the Baltic, formed a great line of defence, which protected the incipient system against the incursions of the eastern nations; and as these pressed onward from the countries adjacent to the Caspian and the Black Sea, it became important that the capital of this frontier sovereignty should be in the neighbourhood of the pass, which it appears to have been destined to secure. The riches of the Grecian capital furnished the motive for the removal of the seat of the Russian government; but the result was the more effectual protection of the system then beginning to be formed in the west. This function of the Russian government was brought to trial within thirty-six years from the acquisition of the new capital, for * in the year 915 it

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 83.

was attacked by the tribe of Petcheneguians, which had come from the banks of the Volga and the Jaik, and which long continued to be its most formidable enemies.

The reign of Igor, the second sovereign, was followed by another minority,* which gave occasion to a female regency, the mother of the young prince assuming the reins of government. This regency was however not less favourable than the former to the interests of Russia. The queen was aided by the counsels and by the valour of a general, who had been liberally rewarded by her deceased husband for former services, and was herself active in her attention to the interior improvement of the nation. The particular influence however of the female administration appears to have consisted in favouring the introduction of the Christian religion among the Russians. Indeed before they had possessed themselves of Kiof, their new capital, † Oskhold, a prince of this place, had received baptism; and from that time, though idolatry continued to be the prevailing religion, there had always been Christians among the Russians, and some were even admitted to the confidence of the government. The queen heard of their religion, and determined to embrace it: but the time was not yet arrived

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 91. † Ibid. p. 65, 66, 98—100.

when (*f*) a warlike nation could be induced to adopt generally a religion of peace, and even the young prince declined to imitate the example of his mother. Still however the reception of Christianity must have been assisted by the influence of that female piety, which had thus given it for a time the sanction of the sovereign authority. To receive baptism with greater solemnity, and to acquire at the same time a more distinct knowledge of her new profession, perhaps also (*g*) to promote the commercial interests of her country, the queen made a progress to the capital of the Greek empire, where the emperor assisted at the ceremony.

The growth and prosperity of the early government of Russia was comprehended within a space of one hundred and fifty-one years, which commenced with the reign of Euric in the year 864, and ended with that of Vladimir I. in the year 1015. That part of this period which followed the female regency, was occupied by three reigns, the first of which was that of a successful warrior, and the third that of the heroic Vladimir, who for his various virtues was deservedly denominated the Great; the intermediate reign was a short one of seven years, engrossed by the contention of two brothers for the crown.

That the military successes of the first of

these three sovereigns, Suiateslaf I, and the distinguished greatness of the third, were conducive to the aggrandisement of the government, require little elucidation. It is less obvious that the intervening period was instrumental to its formation ; but this will probably be admitted when it shall have been remarked, that the first of these three sovereigns * had exerted repeated efforts to establish the seat of his empire on the banks of the Danube, an enterprise which would naturally present itself to a Russian conqueror, but which if it had been successful, would have totally changed the system of the north. It may therefore have been useful that a short interval of domestic contention should have been interposed between the reigns of two able and successful princes, as tending to draw attention to the domestic concerns and interior regulations of the government.

The reign of Vladimir, which followed this period of discord, was distinguished by internal improvement, not less than by military glory. This prince † ministered to the wants of his poorer subjects, sent colonies into the less peopled regions of his dominions, and erected towns ; he brought architects from Greece to ornament his country, and tutors to form the minds of his young nobility ; and he first gave a formal sanc-

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 107. † Ibid. p. 134, 135.

tion to the profession of the Christian religion, which soon afterwards (*h*) became general among his subjects. The merit of his efforts to illuminate the darkness of his people may be estimated from the resistance which he encountered, it having been found necessary to force the children from their parents, for the purpose of placing them in the new academies, so prejudiced were the parents against the novelty of education. His adoption of Christianity (*i*) is said to have been the result of various embassies sent to him almost at the same time by the Roman pontif, or perhaps by some prince of the same faith, who wished to attach him to the church of Rome; by the people of Great Bulgaria, who exhorted him to embrace the religion of Mahomet; and even by some Jews settled among the Kozares, who desired to proselyte him to the law of Moses. A Greek, who addressed him on the subject of religion, was however more successful in deciding the choice of the monarch. The pomp of the Greek ceremonial is said to have determined him to embrace the tenets of that church, though his determination might perhaps with greater probability be referred to the ancient intercourse between the Russians and the Grecian capital. Whatever may have been its cause, his resolution, formed more than eight centuries before the present time, gave being to a principle of union between the Russians

and the Greek subjects of the Ottoman government, which promises to be in no distant period instrumental to an important revolution.

While Vladimir was thus acting as the patriotic sovereign of his nation, the ferociousness of his age and country was strangely manifested in his conduct. Not having among his people any Greek priests for his own instruction and that of his subjects, he found it necessary to procure them from the empire, but his pride revolted at the idea of soliciting them as a favour, for he conceived that this would be a homage unworthy of his independence ; and he therefore determined to obtain them by arms as prisoners of war. His successes at the same time extorted from the two princes who then shared the throne of Constantinople their consent, that their sister should become the wife of the emperor of Russia.

The decline of Russia must be dated, as has been observed, from the death of Vladimir. The * first principle of its decay was the division of the territory into appanages for the support of the various branches of the reigning family, a practice begun indeed by the father of this prince, but carried to a greater extent by himself, who left a more numerous posterity ; his successors imitated their examples, and these appanages were themselves divided to

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 136.

make provision for succeeding generations. Thus, in the progress of time, Russia became parcelled into a multitude of petty sovereignties, a great number of which were merely villages; and a sort of feudal government was formed, the chiefs of which however were not simple lords, but princes of the blood of Rurik. When the country was thus divided, it was necessarily enfeebled by the intestine divisions, which arose among these numerous chieftains, all anxious to assert their independence; and it at length fell under the power of barbarians, * whom it might have defied, if it had not been weakened by its disunion. Nor was this the only cause which paralysed the power of the northern sovereignty: another, which cooperated with it, was the † appropriation of a very considerable portion of the riches of the state to the uses of the church; and this too may be dated from the reign of Vladimir, the first Russian sovereign who embraced Christianity.

But even after the decline of Russia had commenced, some intervals of returning vigour and occasional improvement may still be noticed. Iaroslaf, who reigned (*k*), in the earlier part of the eleventh century, (*l*) besides causing a great number of Greek manuscripts to be translated, and promoting by all the means in his power the education of his subjects, in-

* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 53.

† Ibid. p. 32.

roduced from Greece the art of painting, which was then unknown even in Italy itself: and though Russia had laws from the most ancient times, yet such was the merit of (*m*) the ordinances of this prince, that he has been respected as the first legislator of his country. It may be remarked also that even after the middle of the twelfth century an attempt was made to establish the sovereign authority. * The great object of the superior abilities of Andrew I. was to reduce the petty principalities, and to aggrandise the monarchy, a scheme which, if it could have been accomplished, would have given vigour to the government of his country, but which was too short for the life of a single man, especially for one prematurely terminated by assassination, and succeeded by an agitated interregnum. But though Andrew failed in his attempt to reduce the principalities of Russia, the powerful republic of Novgorod, which had long enjoyed an almost entire independence, and had been so considerable as to become (*n*) a member of the Hanseatic confederacy, was † at this time placed under the protection of the crown, though not even then reduced to an entire dependence.

The reduction of Novgorod was not completed until three centuries had elapsed from

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 313.

† Ibid.

its commencement * having been accomplished in the year 1475 by the same sovereign, who also terminated the domination of the Tartars, which had held Russia in subjection during more than two centuries. It appears to have been important that the vigorous principle of independence, which had been cherished in this northern republic, should (*o*) continue to subsist through that long period of national humiliation, that it might protect the harassed country from the attacks of its European neighbours, the Lithuanians, the Livonians, the Danes, and the Swedes, who beheld in its distresses only an opportunity of their own aggrandisement. But it appears to have been also expedient that, before the actual commencement of the abasement of Russia, (*p*) some preparation should have been made for that more entire dependence of this republic on the sovereign, which at the restoration of the government would be necessary to its simplicity and order. Its decay, which very speedily followed its total reduction, affords a proof of the influence of its preceding independence in maintaining its prosperity and power : its territory, its population, its commerce and its wealth, suffered a constant diminution ; and before a century had elapsed, almost every vestige of its former importance had been obliterated.

* L'Evesque, tome 2, p. 338.

In the year 1168* the ruin of Kiof rendered Volodimer, a city of a much more northerly situation, and not very remote from Moscow, incontestably the capital of Russia; as it had been in reality since the beginning of Andrew I, or eleven years before that event. The exposed situation of the former capital had dictated the change. † Infested at once by various tribes of Tartars, and by the more civilized nations of Hungary, Lithuania, and Poland; and ravaged in the contentions of the princes, who were all ambitious of adding this possession to their appanages, Kiof became unfit for the residence of the sovereign. The southern capital had favoured the intercourse with the Greek empire, which had been the channel of the improvement of Russia; but this intercourse was become less important as Constantinople was itself pressed by the hostilities of the Turks, and within (q) thirty-five years was overpowered by its Christian allies of the west.

When Russia had continued to decline through more than two centuries, an irruption of the Tartars reduced it to subjection. ‡ Weakened by its perpetually encreasing subdivision, it was at length unable to resist the conquerors of Asia, and its imbecility § was aggravated at

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 294, 311. † Ibid. p. 293.

‡ Ibid. tome 2. p. 53. § Ibid. p. 54.

this particular crisis by the accession of a sovereign distinguished only by alternate extremes of cowardice and presumption. The circumstances of this irruption render it a curious instance of the influence of contingent and personal causes in effecting the great revolutions of the world. The generals* of Zingis Khan, when they had conquered Persia, employed some of their prisoners as guides to conduct them to Derbent, a place of considerable strength on the western shore of the Caspian sea, which they were desirous of possessing. If, says the historian of Russia, this project had been successful, the Tartars would perhaps never have thought of attacking the Russians, or rather they would never have known them. To ensure the fidelity of their guides, they had employed the cruel precaution of putting one of them to death, and of threatening to treat the others with the same severity, if they should prove perfidious; these however, excited to vengeance by this barbarous conduct, led them away from Derbent, and conducted them into an ambuscade prepared by the confederacy of (r) two of the barbarous tribes which bordered on the territory of Russia. The invaders, when they had contrived by negotiation to dissolve the confederacy, one of the tribes being of Tartar origin, entirely subdued the other,

* L'Evesque, *tom. 2*, p. 64, &c.

which was no longer supported by its allies; and these, alarmed at the danger to which they were then themselves exposed, sought assistance from the Russians, to whom they had long been enemies. The Tartars sent ambassadors to the Russians, who had descended along the Dnieper to encounter them; the Russians, not contented with disregarding their representations, were barbarous enough to massacre the ambassadors; and the Tartars then resolved to wage war against these new enemies, with whom it had been found impossible to negotiate a peace.

The inveterate divisions of this unhappy nation were not suspended by a sense of common danger; and in the republic of Novgorod in particular the general calamity was increased by the scourges of nature, * ungenial seasons, famine and earthquake, so that † in the moment of its most critical struggle Russia languished in a state of extreme weakness. How important such a combination of favourable circumstances was to the success of its Tartar enemies, appears from the difficulty which they experienced in gaining possession of one city so inconsiderable that its situation is now unknown. ‡ During seven weeks did the inha-

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* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 77. † Ibid. p. 78.

‡ Ibid. p. 90.

bitants of this town set at defiance the utmost efforts of their enemies, and when their walls had at length been levelled with the ground, they sallied forth against the assailants, and slew four thousand men before they were themselves destroyed. Favoured however by the causes which disabled the country for acting generally with the spirit exhibited by the city of Kozelsk, the Tartars were rapidly successful; and within twenty years from their first irruption, which occurred in the year 1223, the sovereign of Russia became the tributary vassal of these (s) barbarians.

While the sovereign of the Mongol Tartars resided in Karacum, or Caracorum, a city (*i*) of Chinese Tartary, the precise situation of which has not been ascertained, Russia became subject to a dependent tribe denominated Kaptchak, which occupied the country on the north-west side of the Caspian Sea, lying among the Don, the Volga, and the Jaik; * Sarai, a town built soon after the conquest of Russia, and situated on the Volga, was the capital of this provincial government. To this latter capital, and sometimes even to that of the grand horde, were the Russian princes † obliged to resort, that they might receive from their imperious masters the confirmation of their authority, and learn their pleasure in regard to the administra-

* L'Evesque, tome 2, p. 120.

† Ibid. p. 124.

tion of their government. The tribe of the Kaptchak, originally pagans, became * Mahometans in the reign of Usbek, which began in the year 1313 ; neither before however, nor after this change of religion, does it appear that the Christianity of the vanquished people was a subject of persecution with their conquerors, but on the contrary the clergy were even † particularly favoured, probably as the best instruments for securing the submission of the nation. The subjection of the Russians indeed, though certainly severe and oppressive, could not be marked with extreme humiliation, since ‡ in various instances their princes were permitted to marry the daughters of the Tartarian khans.

As the Tartar domination had arisen from the ambition of Ghinghis-khan, so the agent, by whom it § was chiefly overthrown, was the famous Tamerlane, whose power influenced the fortunes of the world from Russia to Hindostan, breaking down the ascendancy of the Mongols in the former country, and so weakening that of the Mahometans in the latter, as to prepare it for yielding to the enterprises of the Portuguese. Tamerlane had become master of Persia, when || he was attacked by the Tartars of the Kaptchak ; this adversary he after some struggle

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* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 171. † Ibid. p. 172, 173.

‡ Ibid. p. 174, 175. § Ibid. p. 265, &c. || Ibid.

overthrew and deposed; and being led by his victory to the frontiers of Russia, he entered that country in the year 1395, at the head of four hundred thousand men. The Russian sovereign prepared to make some effort for the preservation of his country, though apparently without any hope of success, when the invader unexpectedly withdrew his mighty host, probably for no other reason than that a conqueror must somewhere set a limit to his progress. Russia accordingly received no injury from this formidable multitude, while a mortal blow was inflicted on the power of the horde, by which it had been so long held in dependence.

The ascendancy of the Mongols over the Russians had indeed been previously undermined by the gradual opinion of a cause similar to that, which had before reduced the latter under their authority; and as the irruption of the Mongols had completed the catastrophe, which had been begun by the intestine divisions of the Russians, so was the victory of Tamerlane but the conclusion of that series of ruin among the Mongols, which had been the result of the dissensions of the conquerors. These dissensions * had appeared so early as in the fourteenth year from the reduction of Russia, when the most valiant general of the Tartars, who had conquered the nations of the northern

* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 191, 159.

coast of the Black Sea, renounced his subjection to his sovereign. For a considerable time however the dissensions of the Tartars only encreased the misery and weakness of Russia, as they furnished allies to the contending factions, by which it was distracted.

Amidst those agitations the seat of the Russian government was transferred to that central situation at (*u*) Moscow, which it retained until Peter the Great erected a maritime capital on the shore of the Gulf of Finland. Kiof, as being not inconveniently situated in regard to Constantinople, the source of the original improvement of Russia, had been the most convenient seat of its government in the first period of its history; first Volodimer, and afterwards Tver, cities more northern than Moscow, were better suited to the circumstances of the country, when it was subjugated and harassed by the Tartars; as the time approached, in which it was to emerge from its humiliation, and not only to resume the rank of an independent people, but to acquire the consistency and union of a political community, a central position was most accommodated to its exigencies; and at length, when it was to be connected with the system formed among the western governments of Europe, a western and maritime capital was obviously requisite to the support of its new relations. The positions of the

capitals of countries have generally been fixed by some early circumstances of their history, and have then exercised a permanent and important influence on their subsequent fortunes, as the domestic contingencies of early life very frequently determine the character of the course of events, which constitutes the history of the individual. But this great monarchy resembles a person thrown into the world even in the commencement of his career, and taking from the changing circumstances in which he is successively placed, the varying modifications of his dispositions and conduct.

The history of Russia, indeed, considered in its whole extent, is destitute of any (v) proper parallel in the history of human society. In that of Russia we find a nation originally opulent and powerful, though very imperfectly organized in its political constitution; we then observe this people sinking into debility through the insufficiency of its political combination, and after a gradual decline of more than two centuries, reduced to subjection by the barbarous hordes of Tartary; and when their humiliation under those Tartar masters had continued about an equal period, we see them availing themselves of the disunion of their enemies, to recover themselves from the degradation into which they had sunk, consolidating their government, encreasing their terri-

tory, inviting among them the improvements of the more civilized countries of Europe, and attaining at length to the highest station of importance in the general system of nations. The social combinations of men appear in general to correspond in decay and mortality to the corporeal frames of the individuals who compose them ; but here we perceive an example of a political resurrection from a state of subjugation so long continued, that Russia might have been deemed for ever dead to its former independence.

That no proper parallel should be found in the history of any single nation seems to have belonged to the magnitude of this colossal government, which is spread across the northern regions of our globe : and for such a correspondence we must look, not to any one people, but to the general progress of society. The original improvement of the country may accordingly be compared to the refinement of the period of time; which preceded the subversion of the western empire, the domination of its Tartar masters to the ascendancy obtained over the Roman provinces by the nations of Germany, and its restoration to that more improved policy, which has arisen out of the temporary degradation of Europe. There is however even in such a correspondence this important peculiarity belonging to the Russian

government, that the Tartars did not enter into a permanent combination with its people, as the Germans did with the subjects of Rome, but merely exercised a dominion over them, which after a time passed away, and left them to the management of their own interests: the establishment of the German nations in the provinces of the Roman empire was the case of a force intimately compounded with the political agencies already existing in those provinces, and uniting with them to generate a common result; that of the Tartars in the provinces of the Russian monarchy was the case of an external power applied with violence for a time, and then entirely removed, without any mixture or communication. Nor is this peculiarity destitute of an adaptation to the case of the Russian government. In the destruction of the Roman empire it was important that the northern invaders should be incorporated with the former inhabitants, because the latter, in the decline of a great system of civilization, had become so degenerate, that they required an infusion of the bold independence of more simple nations; but Russia had not been so civilized, as to suffer from the operation of the causes of social refinement, and could therefore receive from the action of less improved invaders only such benefit as might arise from the shocks which it gave to ill-com-

bined arrangements of policy. No other combination belonging to the history of any single people appears to approach so near to a parallelism with the Tartar dominion of Russia, as the ascendancy acquired by the Danes over the government of England, yet even here there are important distinctions. Though the Danish dynasty was removed from the throne, yet the Danish people did actually enter into some degree of incorporation with their Saxon fellow-subjects, and * serve to generate among them some permanent improvement; but the grand distinction consists in the great difference of duration, for a comparison can scarcely be formed between the effect of an ascendancy, which was limited to the narrow duration of twenty-five years, and that of a dominion which was extended through the vastly longer period of two hundred and nineteen, and consequently acted with a continued force upon many successive generations.

But however dissimilar the history of the Russian government may be to that of the other associations of mankind, an attentive consideration of it will discover to us the general bearing of its fortune, and satisfy us that it was accommodated to the progressive improvement of the government. The government of Russia, as it grew out of the commercial republic

* Vol. 1. p. 410, 413.

of Novgorod, was in its original formation destitute of the aristocratic order, which is necessary for the support of a monarchy in any degree approaching to the form of temperate royalty established in the countries of modern Europe. The deficiency was indeed speedily supplied by a distribution of the territory among the numerous princes of the reigning family; but the dissensions of these petty sovereigns were inconsistent with the public order, and required the application of some external power to reduce the new body of nobles to the necessary subordination. Such a power was supplied by the domination of the Tartars, the establishment of which was facilitated by the very divisions, which it was fitted to correct, it being naturally the constant policy of these foreign masters to humble a turbulent aristocracy, and to render it submissive to the prince, by whom, as their chief vassal, they managed the government of the dependent kingdom. Nor was all the influence of the domination of the Tartars, in effecting the reduction of the haughty aristocracy of Russia, confined even to the long period of time, during which it continued to exist, for the success with which a Russian sovereign at length emancipated his country, enabled him to confirm and augment that ascendancy of the throne, for which preparation

had been thus made in the time of its degradation. The Tartar domination contributed also in another manner to regulate and strengthen the monarchical part of the government, by introducing (*w*) the order of lineal succession, instead of that which, dictated by the necessities of an unsettled polity, advanced to the throne the oldest princes of the reigning family. The pastoral tribes of the Tartars had been distinguished (*x*) by a reverence for the genealogies of their chiefs, and were therefore disposed by habit to prefer a lineal succession in the government of the conquered country; they had however also an interest in establishing such an order, for the weakness of a minor reign would be most favourable to the ascendancy of a foreign dominion.

To this influence of the Tartar dominion in reducing the disorderly aristocracy of Russia the best parallelism will be found in the operation of the Crusades on the governments of the central and southern countries of Europe; these, it has been remarked, served to reduce the power of the feudal nobles, as the Tartars repressed the more irregular aristocracy of Russia. Here again however we perceive a distinction, as the effect was produced in Russia by the aggression of another power, and in the other countries by a combined attack upon a foreign enemy; but the distinction cor-

responded to the inferior improvement of Russia, which disqualified it for any considerable effort of combined hostility, and rendered the coarse application of an external power necessary to the amendment of its political arrangements.

As the dissensions of the numerous princes of Russia were * carefully fomented by their Tartar rulers, and † these dissensions, by exhausting and enfeebling the petty sovereigns of the provinces, rendered them less capable of resisting the control of the monarch, the ascendancy of the royal power ‡ began to appear so early as in the year 1341, when Simeon, the sovereign, led against the republic of Novgorod the numerous princes, who just before had contested his right of succeeding to the throne. The connection between this ascendancy and the vigour of the government was so soon apparent, that § but seventeen years afterwards we observe the first symptom of resistance opposed to the interposition of the Tartars in the internal concerns of Russia. While the government of Russia was thus gradually consolidated, that of the Tartars was in its turn subjected to the disorders of domestic dissension; it is indeed particularly deserving of notice, that the ascendancy attained by the

* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 145, 152. † Ibid. p. 219.

‡ Ibid. p. 207.

§ Ibid. p. 219.

Russian sovereign over his nobles seems to have prepared him for resistance just * at the time, in which the encreasing distractions of the Tartars began to disqualify them for maintaining their authority.

The aggrandisement of the royal power advanced with a progress so rapid, that it may be considered as sufficiently formed in the reign of Dmitri IV, who ascended the throne but twenty-one years later than the time already mentioned for its first indication. The † tendency of the government of Dmitri to the establishment of the royal power was manifest almost from its very commencement, for even in his second year he united two principalities to his throne, and within a very few years he received the homage of all the princes of Russia. His efforts were assisted by all the circumstances of a struggle with the Tartars, while ‡ their formidable irruption itself served to unite the princes more closely in subordination to their chief: a great victory which he obtained over the invaders, must have added to his authority the credit of successful vigour; and even || the severe losses sustained in the conflict by his followers, as they weakened the aristocracy, must have augmented his relative superiority.

* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 220.

† Ibid. p. 230.

‡ Ibid. p. 239, 241.

|| Ibid. p. 247.

The plan of aggrandisement so successfully followed by Dmitri, was zealously prosecuted by his son; but neither of these princes was able to assert his independence of a foreign dominion. The growing power of the Russian monarchy would indeed in the course of time have been equal to that of its antagonist, as the former was continually encreasing, and the latter diminishing; but the crisis was accelerated by the interposition of Tamerlane, who, coming from the central regions of Asia, struck the decisive blow at the domination of the Tartars. This ravager of the east had * long been master of Persia, and appears not to have meditated any northern conquest, until he had been provoked by the aggressions of the Tartar rulers of Russia; then however he directed his fury against his enemy, and after a doubtful struggle succeeded in deposing the khan of Kaptchak, and establishing in his place another prince, who depended wholly on himself for support. From † this time, the year 1395, the weakness of the Tartars continually encreasing, a system of crafty policy was substituted for the imperiousness of a haughty superiority.

The time at length arrived, when the monarch of Russia discovered, that to be free he had only to renounce subjection. I have fre-

* L'Evesque, tome 2, p. 265, 266. † Ibid. p. 268, 278.

quently had occasion to remark, how admirably the individuals placed in important and critical situations, appear to have been selected for the functions, which they seem to have been destined to discharge; and in no instance does this adaptation of personal qualities more obviously present itself to the student of history, than in the character of Ivan III, who just at that time ascended the throne of Russia. Scarcely twenty-three years old when he took possession of the throne, he * threw his view around him, anticipating his future greatness, and regarding those parts of Russia which did not yet belong to him, as destined to augment his territories, he saw in the hordes of the Tartars, which seemed to menace him with hostility, only the aim of his arms, and the occasion of his triumphs. The reign of this illustrious restorer of his country was ennobled by every circumstance of greatness. Not only † were the domains of various princes united to the crown, but also many considerable cities, which had been severed from the territory of Russia, were recovered: Novgorod, that ancient republic, which had so long maintained a political independence, was at length (y) subjected to the authority of the sovereign: Moscow for the first time beheld ambassadors from the German emperor, the pope, the sultan of Constantinople,

* L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 318.

† Ibid. p. 345, 353, 364.

the kings of Poland and Denmark, and the republic of Venice ; and the efforts of the monarch were exerted to attract into Russia (z) some of those artists who were beginning to restore in Italy the elegant embellishments of cultivated life, and one who was employed in preparing the formidable implements of modern hostility. The vigour of the government accordingly began even then to expand itself in the grand project of Russian ambition, for with this rescuer of the independence of his country commenced the scheme of acquiring the succession of the throne of Constantinople, this prince * having, with such an expectation, married the grand-daughter of the last of the Grecian emperors.

• L'Evesque, tome, 2. p. 360.

(a) Though the tribes denominated Slavians formed the principal part of the inhabitants of Russia, yet the name of the country has been derived from a distinct tribe, bearing originally the name of Russians. According to the Tartar prince Abulgazi Bayadur, and the writers cited by Herbelot, the Slavians have sprung from Seklab or Sakleb, and the Russians from

Rouss, both sons of Japheth. L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 3. No such names however occur among the sons of Japheth mentioned in the book of Genesis, which are Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras.

(b) There appears indeed to have been a deity of this character among a portion of this people. Ibid. p. 36.

(c) Novgorod, or *the new city*, had early attained to so considerable power, that it was commonly said, "who can contend with God or Novgorod the great"? To the people of this city surrounding nations were tributary, from Lithuania to the mountains bordering Siberia, and from the Bielo-Ozero and the lake of Rostof to the White Sea. Ibid. p. 57—59. Novgorod appears to have been built by Slavians, and Kiof by the original Russians. Ibid. p. 49, 50.

(d) These works, which still subsist, says L'Evesque, are destitute of beauty; but the art was not cultivated with greater success at Constantinople, and the rude paintings of Greece and Russia were of more value than the barbarous sculptures, with which the Romish churches of Europe were then loaded. The paintings are described as executed on a ground of gold. Such were the productions of the earlier part of the eleventh century. From the twelfth the Russians have executed paintings,

which have merited the eulogies of modern Italians. Among these were the representations of the Greek saints, which have been distinguished by the name of the *Capponian Tablets*, because they had been procured by Gregory Capponi from a Greek, to whom they had been given by Peter I. Ibid. tome 2. p. 121.

(e) Vladimir, the eldest son of the king, married the daughter of Harold, who afterwards became the last of the Saxon kings of England. Ibid. tome 1. p. 164.

(f) Do you wish, replied the young prince to the pious exhortations of his mother, that my friends should deride me ? Ibid. p. 100.

(g) There were then in Constantinople forty-four Russian traders, who shared with their sovereign and the ladies of her court the presents of the emperor. Ibid. p. 99.

(h) He issued one day in Kiof an order, directing all the inhabitants to present themselves the next morning on the banks of the river, that they might receive baptism, and they obeyed with joy : if this were not right, they said, the prince and the boiars would not have done it. Ibid. p. 130.

(i) This recital is taken from the Russian chronicles : but a Greek manuscript of the Colbertine library, published by Banduri, refers the same facts to the reign of Basil the Macedonian, and consequently to the earlier conversion

of Oskhold and Dir, in whom ended the first dynasty of the princes of Kiof. *Ibid.* p. 124, note.

(*k*) He ascended the throne in the year 1015, was driven from it in the year 1018, was re-established in the following year, and died in the year 1054.

(*l*) With all his literature however he was so absurdly superstitious, that he thought that he could procure salvation for two uncles, who had died in idolatry, by causing their bones to be raised and baptized: *Ibid.* p. 162, 163.

(*m*) It is observable that a trial by twelve men chosen for the purpose is directed by those laws. *Ibid.* p. 169. May not the selection of this number of judges, which appears to have prevailed widely among the barbarous nations of Europe, have been suggested by the observation of the twelve lunar periods, which nearly completed the year?

(*n*) The trade of Novgorod was important to the Hanseatic confederacy, not merely for the productions of the country itself, but also for those of India, which were carried through Bucharía to Astrachan, and by the Volga and other rivers to Novgorod. *Ibid.* p. 305.

(*o*) The Tartars in the year 1238 advanced within a distance of twenty leagues from Novgorod, but suddenly and unaccountably returned towards Rezan, an event ascribed by the

Russian chronicles to a miraculous interposition. Ibid. tome 2. p. 90. The republic was afterwards rendered tributary, but never plundered.

(p) It is remarkable that those very wars, waged by the European neighbours of Russia, induced a connection with the Lithuanians, which had a direct operation in bringing Novgorod under the power of the sovereign. The people of that city had consented to cede some portions of their territory to the Lithuanians, who undertook to guard their frontier against the enterprises of the Swedes and Livonians; but this arrangement hastened the ruin of the republic, as it caused the citizens to endeavour to withdraw themselves from the dominion of the Russian sovereign, and to connect themselves with Lithuania and Poland. Ibid. tome 2. p. 255—267.

(q) Constantinople was taken in the year 1203 by the Latins of the first Crusade.

(r) These were the Alans and the Kaptchaks. The Tartars contrived to persuade the latter to remain neuter, and then destroyed the former, thus extinguishing a nation, celebrated among those which had contributed to the destruction of the Roman empire. Ibid. tome 1. p. 65, 66.

(s) Well did they deserve the name of barbarians, since in the triumphal banquet of their

chief the benches were placed on the bodies of living captives, who, in disregard of a solemn promise of their lives, and of a permission to redeem their liberties, were thus stifled amidst the rejoicing of their inhuman conquerors. *Ibid.* tome 2. p. 64.

(*l*) This capital of the Mongolian power is placed by D'Anville, with a confession of uncertainty, on the river Onghin, while others suppose it to have been situated on the river Orchon, about one hundred and fifty British miles towards the northwest. Pinkerton's *Geog.* vol. 2. p. 118.

(*u*) The foundations of Moscow were laid by Joury, who began his reign in the year 1149, and with some interruption ended it in the year 1157. L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 289. It was enlarged and embellished by Andrew III. who began his reign in the year 1294, and ended it in the year 1304. *Ibid.* tome 2. p. 168. In the year 1328 it became the residence of the sovereign, and was considered as the capital. *Ibid.* p. 198. Dmitri IV. who began his reign in the year 1362, and ended it in the year 1389, built the Kremlin of stone for his residence; the name, which is Tartarian, signifies a fortress. *Ibid.* p. 258.

(*v*) The Persian empire corresponded to that of Russia in experiencing a reestablishment after degradation, and even two such alterna-

tions of subjection and independence, first in the year 226, when it was restored by Artaxerxes, and then in the year 1499, when the dynasty of the Sophis was commenced. The distinction of this case however is that in these restorations the fortune of Persia appears to have been merely secondary to that of other more considerable governments, whereas Russia was the primary object in the northern system.

(w) This order was observed from the year 1389. L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 259.

(x) We have accordingly a genealogical history of the Tartars, composed by one of their khans, which traces the families of their chief from Adam. The writer, Abulgasi-Bayadur, who was born in the year 1605, states in his preface, that he had in his possession eighteen such histories, composed by earlier historians. It seems as if these pastoral tribes had directed their attention to genealogical history, partly that they might have an object of occupation amidst much leisure, and partly perhaps because they were accustomed to consider the races of their cattle.

(y) It is remarkable, that this city could never before have been assailed in summer, on account of the marshes by which it was surrounded; but in this year there had been no rain, and the marshes had been dried by the

extraordinary heat of the weather. L'Evesque, tome 2. p. 326, 327.

(z) The hope of reward attracted to the rude climate of Moscow from the more southern country architects, goldsmiths, founders of cannon, and masons. Under the direction of Aristoteli of Bologna cannon were founded, which were employed for the first time in the year 1482 against a town of Livonia: the Swedes began to use them thirteen years afterwards. Ibid. p. 365.

LECTURE XXXV.

*Of the history of Poland from the year 964 to
the commencement of the reign of Sigismond I.
in the year 1507.*

Miecislaus	964
Casimir the Great	1333
Crown elective	1370
<i>Lithuanian dynasty and union of</i>	
<i>Lithuania</i>	} 1386
Teutonic knights reduced	1466
<i>Representative members in the na-</i>	
<i>tional assembly</i>	} 1468
Incorporate union of Lithuania . . .	1501

RUSSIA, the earlier history of which was the subject of the last lecture, was * probably the country, in which the Slavian tribes first settled, when they migrated from the east. From this northern settlement it is supposed (*a*) they spread into other countries of Europe, and in particular occupied the extensive region since denominated (*b*) Poland.

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 3.

The consideration of the history of Poland excites a melancholy interest, by recalling to our memories the unprincipled spoliation which terminated its independent existence : the interest however which it is fitted to excite is not limited to an indignant feeling of sympathy with an injured people, but belongs also to a philosophic curiosity speculating on the general fortune of the system of Europe. It will indeed probably be found that Poland, in the several periods of its history bore a more various relation to the general system of Europe than any other of the European governments. We see it first forming itself into consistency and strength under the protection afforded by the exterior government of Russia ; then in its turn constituting a part of the protecting frontier of the states of Christendom against the barbarians who continued to advance from the northern regions of Asia ; afterwards in its decay becoming a sort of political waste, serving to separate the great southern system of governments from the new combination which was beginning to be formed in the north, and thus preventing a premature and prejudicial collision ; and finally, when the northern system was preparing to unite itself with that of the south, and this was verging towards a state in which a more general combination of political interests would become expedient and desirable,

we perceive it gradually yielding to the power of the neighbouring nations, and allowing them by successive partitions to come into an immediate proximity. The view taken in the present lecture will however comprehend only the first of these periods and a part of the second, as it will terminate at the commencement of the reign of Sigismund I, or in the year 1507, just before the constitution of Poland attained its most perfect form.

A correspondence so manifold presents itself at the first view, when we compare the original circumstances of Russia and Poland, that we might be disposed to expect an entire similarity of results in their respective fortunes. The population of each was composed of the same Slavian tribes, which had followed the German or Gothic nations into Europe; the territory of each was an extensive and open country intersected by rivers; and as Russia lay in the line of communication between the Baltic and the capital of the Grecian empire, so was Poland situated in the like manner between the same sea and Italy the most improved and commercial country of the west. It is however certain that the actual fortunes of these two countries were in various important particulars, not only different, but directly contrasted. In Russia a simple despotism has been established on the ruins of a government,

which had been formed out of the republican independence of Novgorod ; whereas in Poland the royal power, which had been originally almost unlimited, was gradually reduced to the mere presidency of a democracy of nobles : Russia sunk under the invasions of the Tartars, and remained subject to their dominion during a period exceeding two centuries ; whereas Poland proved to be a firm bulwark of Christendom against the inroads, not only of the hordes of Tartary, but also of the Turks established in Greece : and Russia has at length risen from her long continued humiliation to the high rank of arbitress of the continental interests of Europe, while Poland, losing even her national existence, has been finally partitioned by the very powers, which in other times she had either governed, or at least protected.

Though however some of the causes of these important distinctions were personal and contingent, yet others were fixed and certain, and may be discovered in an attentive consideration of the circumstances of the two countries. Russia enjoyed a situation much more favourable to her early improvement, by possessing an easy communication with the Greek capital, in which was hoarded whatever remained of the refinement of antiquity ; and the commerce of the west, besides that it was late in its commencement, and feeble in its earlier

efforts, was diverted from Poland by the more advanced improvement of the German empire. The former country, on the other hand, was subjected to the disadvantage of a more exposed situation in regard to the inroads of the tribes of Tartary, in encountering which it was by its position the advanced station of Europe ; whereas, during the conflicts and misfortunes of Russia, time was allowed to the latter for acquiring such a degree of vigour, as enabled it afterwards to repel the hostilities of these and other enemies of the Christian states. Poland again, by its proximity to the German states, was subjected to political influences, which could have no operation on a state so distant as Russia ; and accordingly it * received from Germany the system of its laws and institutions so entirely, that an eminent historian of that country has proposed to illustrate its constitution from the borrowed usages of Poland. And lastly, when the disorder of its government had terminated in an anarchy unexampled among nations, the central situation of Poland exposed it to the common spoil of three surrounding powers, who agreed to partition that territory, which each was unable wholly to appropriate.

The influence of the difference of local situation we discover in the most ancient ac-

* Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 261.

counts of the two countries. Among the first notices of the early state of Russia which have reached us, we find established laws, founded on principles of a wise and discriminating equity; and * we are assured that, however imperfect the internal arrangement of the government may have been, the power of the sovereign was actually controlled by the states general of the nation. On the contrary † it is affirmed by the historians of Poland, that the power of the earlier sovereigns of that country was not restrained, either by any assembly of the states, or by any settled principles of policy; and that the influence acquired by the clergy, when the Christian religion had been introduced, furnished the first formal limitation of the royal authority. Such a remarkable difference in the original constitutions of two countries, in so many respects similarly circumstanced, must appear wholly inexplicable until we shall have reflected, that Russia is described as abounding in towns from the most remote period of its history, and that these towns have received their existence from the commerce, which was itself a direct result of the position of the country. Both countries have been chiefly peopled by the Slavian tribes; but in Poland these tribes retained much of their

* L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 201, 202. † Hartknoch de Rep. Polon. p. 385, 615. 616. Lipsie 1699.

original rudeness, while in Russia they were excited to industry by the opportunities of commerce, and animated to independence by that free communication, which belongs to a people whom commerce has collected into towns, and by the practice of prosecuting their trading interests in these towns with a vigilant precaution. Thus it was that, while Poland continued in barbarism, Russia was originally disposed to form itself into a regulated community, and was thereby enabled to constitute that exterior rampart of the western system, which might restrain, or at least occupy, the ravagers of the east, until Poland should be qualified to assume the protection of Christendom.

The Slavian tribes * appear to have possessed the countries on the eastern side of the Vistula before the sixth century ; and to have established themselves in the countries on the western side of that river about the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, the Goths having abandoned them in their progress into the more southern regions of Europe. To this period is referred Lecht or Lechtus, the first prince of the Poles ; but † the whole of the first series of the Polish sovereigns, beginning with Lecht, and ending with the

* Hartknoch de Rep. Polon. p. 12—14. Diss. de Orig. Pomer. p. 57, &c.

† Ibid. de Rep. Pol. p. 22.

accession of Piast, who began his reign in the year 842, is excluded from the authentic history of the country. Nor even at the termination of this series does the Polish history begin to acquire certainty; but * we must look more than a century forward to the reign of Miecislaus or Mieszkri, which began in the year 964, the intercourse with other nations, occasioned by (c) his adoption of the Christian religion, having then caused them to introduce into their own histories some mention of the events, which occurred among the newly proselyted people. The latter part of the tenth century must therefore be considered as comprehending the real epoch of the history of the history of Poland.

The proximity of this country to the German empire was the cause of a peculiarity of religious belief, which distinguished its people from the other great Slavian nation, Poland having received from Germany the Latin form of Christianity, whereas Russia had derived from Constantinople the faith of the Grecian church. The influence of the Greek religion of Russia will probably be seen hereafter in facilitating a connection between that country and European Turkey. That of the Latin faith of Poland appears to have consisted partly in constituting a communication between its

* Hartknoch de Rep. Pol. p. 35.

people and the western nations of Europe, from which it received its institutions ; partly in maintaining the distinctness of the two nations, which had been formed of the same Slavian population, and might therefore have a tendency towards a mutual incorporation ; and partly in facilitating the appropriation of certain portions of the territory by other powers than Russia, when the nation at length lost its independent existence.

The conversion of the Poles, while it gave a beginning to the authentic history of the country, was also the epoch of its temporary degradation, (*d*) the first Christian sovereign having become the tributary of the empire, from which he had received the knowledge of Christianity. What was the degree of the subjection in which the Poles were then held by the Germans, is not ascertained, nor is it known how the former afterwards contrived to assert their independence, it being * only conjectured that they availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the long period of disorder in the thirteenth century, which preceded the advancement of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the throne of the empire. But though the Poles then ceased to be tributary, they did not cease to be influenced by the proximity of Germany ;

* Hartknoch de Rep. Pol. p. 53.

and * the period of its first considerable improvement is fixed in the reign of Casimir the Great, who freely assigned lands to such Germans as were disposed to settle in his country, and † introduced the German laws for the regulation of the towns which they inhabited.

This distinguished prince ascended the throne of Poland in the year 1333, and held it during thirty-seven years. In the last lecture it was mentioned, that Russia was reduced by the Tartars in 1243: it appears therefore that the improvement of Poland commenced ninety years later than the subjugation of the neighbouring country, and was coincident with its most abject humiliation. From this observation we may conclude, that Poland must have been disqualified for this improvement, and must have continued to languish under the evils of an almost unmitigated barbarism, if Russia had not then been interposed to receive the shock of the invasions of the Tartars. To Russia these invasions were even beneficial, as they served to consolidate a government, which, though very imperfect and irregular, consisted however of various orders of men: to Poland they must have assured the doom of a long protracted barbarity, because its government had not then acquired the materials, upon

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* Hartknoch de Rep. Pol. p. 72.

† Ibid. p. 362.

which their violence could have acted with advantage. How incapable the latter country would at that time have been of opposing any resistance to these fierce invaders, appears (*e*) from the facility with which it was overrun by them at the very time in which they possessed themselves of the former. But the Tartar empire established by the successes of Ghingis-khan was from that time sufficiently occupied by the possession of Russia, and by its own internal dissensions; and before the other great Tartar ravager Tamerlane began his work of desolation, the Polish government had acquired such consistency and strength, as enabled it more effectually than Russia to oppose the progress of the barbarians, and to become the firm bulwark of the civilization of the west.

We should however very inadequately conceive the efforts of the illustrious Casimir for the improvement of his country, if we should suppose that they were limited to the encouragement of enlightened foreigners. One of his cares was to provide for the security of his kingdom (*f*) by acquiring from the neighbouring powers, either by arms or by negotiation, the provinces of Volhinia and Masovia, with other tracts; and thus procuring for it at once the strength of additional territory, and the protection of a more distant frontier. But he directed his chief attention to the various

means of internal improvement, building towns and fortresses, encouraging commerce, (*g*) beginning a university, and giving to his subjects a system of laws so much superior to those already observed among them, that he has been considered as the earliest legislator of his country. These * were the arts by which this prince acquired the surname of the Great, the only sovereign of the Poles who has been honoured with this appellation, and, except Peter of Russia, the single example among princes of such a distinction conferred exclusively for attention to the arts of peace. Casimir † particularly laboured to ameliorate the condition of the peasants, and for this purpose manifested so much anxiety to protect them against the oppressions of the nobles, that he was by the latter contemptuously denominated the king of the rustics. It however happened, that he was induced by the circumstances in which he was placed, to confer at the same time so many privileges on the nobility, that he may be regarded as the author of the aristocracy, which afterwards overpowered the monarchical part of the constitution, and prepared the ruin of the independence of Poland. Not ‡ having any hope of male posterity, he became solicitous to

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* Cromerus de Reb. Polon. p. 216. Basil. 1568.

† Ibid. p. 211. ‡ Hartknoch de Rep. Polon. p. 72.

secure the succession for his nephew Lewis king of Hungary, and for attaining this object found it necessary to gratify the nobles with so many concessions, that they date their privileges from his reign. Thus it happened that the same reign was the grand period of the improvement of the country, and remotely made preparation for its subsequent decay and final degradation ; but the function of Poland in the general system of Europe was of subordinate importance, and was accommodated only to an imperfect and temporary government. Had Casimir indeed been succeeded by his own descendants, and had the crown thus continued to be hereditary, the nobles might never have attained that ruinous ascendancy, which transformed the monarchy into an armed anarchy : but it was otherwise ordained by providence, and the transformation of the constitution afforded opportunities, of which the nobles successfully availed themselves for their aggrandisement.

But though the crown became elective at the death of Casimir the Great, which occurred in the year 1370, the election continued for two centuries to be limited to the same family, not being opened to princes of various families and countries until the year 1572. The arrangement by which this long interval of order was interposed between the establishment of

the principle of election and the commencement of its unrestrained application, was formed partly by the circumstances of the family of Lewis, the first of the series of elected sovereigns, and partly by the accession of the great duchy of Lithuania to the territory of the Polish kingdom. By the combined operation of these very distinct and dissimilar causes was this monarchy so long retained in a situation consistent with its present vigour and prosperity, but preparing the causes of its future imbecility and ultimate destruction.

Lewis king of Hungary and Poland, like his uncle Casimir having no male issue to succeed him, procured in his life-time that Sigismund marquis of Brandenburg, who had married the elder of his two daughters, should be named his successor ; Cromer * indeed, the most authentic of the Polish historians, informs us that he himself named his daughter and Sigismund to the succession, and obliged the nobles to swear that they would maintain the appointment. A succession established in such circumstances, if it had been permitted to subsist, would naturally have but introduced a new dynasty of hereditary princes, for it was but the adoption of the next female heir in the failure of male issue, and appears to have been arranged without any choice of the nobility.

* De Reb. Polon. p. 229.

Instead however of being permitted to subsist, it just served to introduce the principle of electing the successor, though from the reigning family. Immediately after the death of Lewis the appointment of that prince was set aside, the Poles adhering still to his family, but resolving that the younger daughter, who was not then married, should be their queen. As Sigismond claimed the succession of Hungary as well as that of Poland, the people of the latter country, who * in the reign of Lewis had experienced that a Hungarian sovereign could not afford the necessary attention to their government, were probably on this account averse from his pretension; and they had been also (*h*) offended and alienated by some particulars of his conduct, even when he was seeking to establish himself upon the throne. In the aversion entertained for the succession of a prince, who should at the same time be king of Hungary, and the influence of this aversion on the constitution of Poland, we discover the operation of the temporary connection of the two countries under a common sovereign.

The advancement of the younger daughter was four years afterwards followed by (*i*) her marriage with Jaghellon grand-duke of Lithuania, which began the series of Lithuanian kings of Poland, and the important union of

* Cromerus, p. 225.

that considerable duchy. This was an event productive of the most happy effects in regard both to the external security and to the internal arrangement of the government. By (*k*) widely extending towards Russia the territory of the state, it added much to its strength on that side on which it was most exposed to attack; and by placing on the throne a family regarded with jealousy by the Poles, it preserved the principle of an election while the succession was actually hereditary. The latter of these operations is extremely curious. The importance of the territory thus united to the original country maintained the succession of the family of Iaghellon; but the jealousy of the Poles appears to have hindered them from acquiescing in that succession as a right, and to have caused them to insist on ratifying it in each instance by an election. That the right of election was claimed and exercised appears * in two instances, in which the reigning prince procured his son to be in his own life-time nominated his successor, especially as it was on each occasion stipulated, that the example should not be considered as derogating from the right of election; and it is yet more distinctly proved by the resolution afterwards formed, that such an appointment should not again be permitted, lest the freedom of elec-

* Hartknoch, p. 228.

tions should be infringed. In the year 1572 the male line of the family of Jaghellon became extinct, and from this year accordingly began a period, in which the crown was simply elective, the kings being chosen from various families and countries.

Though the first considerable augmentation of the privileges of the nobles was the consequence of a failure of the reigning family, we must not suppose that this order had not even before that event become gradually possessed of a large share of the power of the government; the efforts indeed of the last hereditary sovereign to procure for the peasants relief from their numerous and galling oppressions, furnish a decisive proof of the previous existence of a powerful aristocracy, though it may not have been much employed in controlling the sovereign. The beginning of the privileges of the nobles of Poland * is accordingly referred to the introduction of the Christian religion, which occurred in the latter part of the tenth century, the bishops having then obtained various immunities through their influence over the minds of their sovereigns, and having thus set the example of limiting an authority, which before that time had been wholly indefinite. As a connection was at the same time formed with Germany, the influence

* Hartknoch, p. 335—337.

of German usages must have stimulated the rude chieftains of the Poles to aspire to the enjoyment of the rights of German nobles; and as the invasions of foreign enemies furnished the nobles with opportunities of acquiring claims to the gratitude of their sovereign, so did the civil commotions, by which in this period the government was agitated, afford fit occasions for wresting from the crown a variety of concessions. When these causes had gradually during four centuries prepared and formed an aristocracy, the change of the government from an hereditary to an elective monarchy was most favourable to its aggrandisement; the nobles were thus enabled to bestow the crown on each demise of the sovereign, and new concessions of privileges were the price, which every candidate was necessitated to undertake to pay. But as the elective principle of the government, though formally acknowledged, was not for a long time reduced to practice in its entire extent, the aggrandisement of the aristocracy was proportionally slow; nor * was it until the Lithuanian family had also become extinct, that the election of a foreign prince, Henry son of Henry II. of France, gave occasion to (*1*) those written stipulations between the sovereign and the nobles,

* Hartknoch, p. 338.

which are known by the denomination of *pacta conventa*.

It has been remarked that the jealousy excited in the minds of the Poles by the conduct of Lewis king of Hungary, who had succeeded to Casimir the Great, was the primary principle of the resistance opposed to the succession of his son-in-law Sigismond, which appeared immediately after his decease. We may accordingly regard the reign of Lewis as tending to create a repulsion between the two neighbouring kingdoms of Poland and Hungary, which served to alienate the former from an intimate connection with the latter, and at the same time left this other kingdom at liberty to connect itself with the empire of Germany. The death of Lewis occurred in the year 1385, and we observe the latter of these two results in the advancement of Sigismond of Hungary to the throne of the empire, which happened in the year 1410, or twenty-five years after the Poles had excluded that prince from the succession of their kingdom. Nature indeed had in the chain of the Carpathian mountains interposed a dividing frontier between Poland and Hungary ; but this frontier was much strengthened by political alienation, and Hungary was irresistibly determined to its proper combination in the system of Europe. It is in this view deserving of observation, that a convention was actually

concluded between the Poles and Hungarians, tending to effect a union of the two nations ; for * it was agreed that, if either of the two sisters should die without leaving children, the other should succeed to her kingdom. But, though the queen of Hungary died without issue, yet the king of Poland attempted in vain to enforce his pretension, and was compelled to abandon Hungary to Sigismond.

The union of Lithuania was in every respect of a character different from the casual and temporary connection, which had been formed with Hungary. This great territory was not separated from Poland by any natural barrier, and was situated on that side of it, on which a covering frontier was most necessary for its security ; and being remote from the countries of the southern system of Europe, was not fitted, like Hungary, to enter into a connection with any of the states of which that system was composed. In this union too the Poles were enabled to guard themselves against the inconvenience which they had recently experienced in their connection with Hungary. The superior importance of the country to which they received the Lithuanian prince, gave them an advantage in the negotiation, by which they were † enabled to stipulate for the future re-

* Cromerus, p. 234. † Ibid. p. 239, 240.

sidence of their new sovereign. The * conversion of Jaghellon and the Lithuanians to the Christian religion was also a condition and a consequence of the alliance. The prince himself, having been the son of a Christian mother, was not unprepared to accede to the demand, that he should embrace the religion of his queen; and his subjects, though then so barbarously pagan that they even sacrificed one of their prisoners when they returned from a war, were yet contented to follow the example of Jaghellon, when they saw that, without any display of the divine vengeance, their sacred fire was extinguished, their temple with its shrine and altar was demolished, their venerated serpents were killed, and their holy groves were laid prostrate on the earth.

The marriage of the archduke of Lithuania with the queen of Poland, and the stipulated union of the duchy, were effected in the year 1386; and the importance of the augmentation of the national strength, which was the result of the treaty, soon became conspicuous in the violent struggle which the government maintained with the Teutonic knights, who were possessed of Prussia and the neighbouring provinces. This † Germanic order of knighthood was, like those of the Hospi-

* Cromerus, p. 239—243.

† Pfeffel, tome 1. p. 309, 342, 350.

tallers and the Templars, founded in Asia, from which it was removed to Germany, when the crusaders were forced to relinquish the hope of recovering Palestine from the infidels. Here they were soon employed in encountering the pagan inhabitants of Prussia, of which country they effected a conquest, and having in the year 1237 incorporated with themselves another order of knights, which had been recently created for enforcing the conversion of the Livonians, they were in a short time possessed also of the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia. These knights, forming a power essentially military, required to be opposed by some vigorous government, which should be able to restrain the excesses of their ambition ; and such a government was constituted by the union, which had connected Lithuania with Poland, especially as the archduchy reached to the border of Livonia, and even interrupted its communication with Prussia. Jaghellon led against the knights the whole force of his kingdom, and gained considerable advantages ; their reduction was not however effected until the year 1466, when * the Prussians, oppressed by their tyranny, had solicited the protection of Poland. When more than three hundred and fifty thousand men had perished in the fierce and desperate struggle, the knights † yielded to the Poles

* Pfeffel, tome 2. p. 30, † Cromerus, p. 387.

the territories of Culm, Michlow and Pomerania, with a part of Prussia ; and it was agreed, that their grand master should do homage to the king for that part of Prussia which he was permitted to retain, and have a seat in the senate of Poland.

The power which was thus suppressed, was indeed afterwards restored, though under a different form, and has recently become a participator in the spoliation of that by which it had once been held in vassalage. In the year 1525 * that part of Poland, which had been left to the Teutonic knights, was by another treaty concluded with the Poles, erected into a secular and sovereign duchy, in favour of the margrave of Brandenburg, then the grand master of the order. In this state however it continued long to be connected, though slightly, with the kingdom of Poland : but in the year 1657 the (m) elector Frederic William emancipated himself from the vassalage, in which the duchy had been until that time retained ; and the elector Frederic III, in the year 1700 by his own authority constituted it a kingdom. The new monarchy thus formed reacted within a century upon that, on which its territory had been formerly dependent. In the years 1773 and 1774 those very provinces, which had been ceded to the Poles in the year 1466, were re-

* Pfeffel, tome 2. p. 131—133.

sumed by Prussia ; and twenty years afterwards the same power cooperated with Russia and Austria in the final partition of the Polish territory.

The new monarchy thus constituted in Europe has in the eighteenth century been the counterpoise of Austria in the complex system of the Germanic government. But though such a counterpoise was useful and necessary, when the general system of Europe had attained its maturity, it would have been inconvenient and embarrassing in the two preceding centuries, in which the combinations of the system were not yet completed. In the formation of the system of Europe it was expedient that the balance of Germany should be maintained, not by an interior adjustment, but by the interposition of foreign powers, because by the relations thus formed, the federative influence of Germany was extended over other states ; and accordingly by the interposition of France on the one part, and by that of Sweden on the other, the combinations of a federative policy were spread throughout both the south and the north of Europe, the interests of both being comprehended in the treaties of Westphalia. It was therefore expedient that the power of Prussia, which was itself a member of the empire, should be suppressed, until the operations of the two foreign states on the interests of Ger-

many should have been completed ; and that it should afterwards be restored and augmented, when the whole system should have been regulated, and an interior balance of power had become necessary in Germany, to correspond with that distribution, which arranged in opposing combinations the several governments of Europe. -The germ of the Prussian government appears thus to have been early formed by the Teutonic knights ; its growth to have been then checked by the superior power of Poland, during all that long period in which it would have obstructed the first developement of the federative relations of the general system ; and its full expansion to have been afterwards permitted, when these relations had been constituted, and the independent power of Prussia could consist with the general arrangements of Europe. Such an adaptation of parts, if observed in the growth of a vegetable, would fill us with admiration of the wisdom of the Creator. Shall it be esteemed less admirable, when it is discovered in that play of human passions, which, however unconsciously, but executes the pleasure of the Almighty ruler ?

The war of Prussia was however instrumental, not only to the general arrangement of Europe, but also to that of the interior policy of Poland : a foreign war must indeed always react upon the country by which it is waged ;

and if the constitution of that country be in any degree complicated in its structure, such a reaction must operate with a proportionally greater power in modifying its combinations. A * senate or council, composed it seems of twelve (*n*) palatines, had probably existed from the early times of the government, though with little or no practical influence on the administration; this was afterwards enlarged and rendered considerable by the admission of the bishops, when the Christian religion had been introduced in the time of Miecislaus; but representative members were not yet associated with the nobles and the prelates, because no urgent necessity had existed for creating such an organ of the public sentiment. This necessity was not felt until the expenses incurred by the war of Prussia demanded supplies so considerable, that it was judged expedient to provide them by a common deliberation, instead of furnishing them separately in the distinct provinces of the kingdom, at this time widely extended. When † the third sovereign of the Lithuanian dynasty, in the year 1468, solicited the nobles of the (*o*) Lesser Poland to enable him to defray these expenses, the nobles of the province required, that they should have an opportunity of acting in concert with those of the

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* Hartknoch, lib. 2. cap. 3.

† Cromerus, p. 394.

Greater Poland, and that two deputies should for this purpose be sent from every palatinate to Peterkaw. When the beginning had been thus made, the * practice was adopted by the other provinces, but with much variety in the number of the deputies, especially in Polish Prussia. The ordinary number of deputies was one hundred and seventy-four, exclusively of those of Prussia, the number of whom was uncertain. Cromer, who published his valuable history of his country in the year 1566, has strongly expressed his apprehension of the tendency of this innovation in the government, which he compared to the establishment of the tribunes of Rome, and of the ephori of Sparta; and it may well be conceived that an institution, which in a sound organization of government would have been a principle of salutary freedom, should in the irregular constitution of Poland even then have amply justified the fears, with which he regarded it as one of anarchy and ruin.

The union of Lithuania, begun in the year 1386 by the advancement of Jaghellon to the throne of Poland, was a process which necessarily (*p*) required a considerable time for its entire accomplishment. The Lithuanians were naturally jealous of a connection formed with a country more powerful than their own, as

* Hartknoch, p. 652, &c.

they could not but feel that they had sunk from independence to the subordinate condition of a province; and the Poles on the other hand, who had received from the Lithuanians the reigning family of their princes, were offended by every indication of partiality, which these might happen to manifest for their original country. Various contentions accordingly arose between the united nations; and so violent was the animosity of the Lithuanians, that they were charged with having sometimes invited the Tartars to ravage the lands of their fellow-subjects. The union was at length actually dissolved in the year 1492, the Lithuanians having at the death of Casimir IV. chosen (q) as their duke his son Alexander, and another son, John Albert, having been at the same time elected to the throne of Poland. This interruption of the union, which continued nine years, was however but preparatory to its more perfect establishment. At the death of John Albert the * Poles, who had felt the inconvenience of the separation, consented that his brother the duke of Lithuania should be advanced to their throne, on the condition of forming a more intimate union of the two countries than that which had been before stipulated; it was accordingly agreed,

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* Cromerus, p. 439.

that the two countries should have but one national assembly, and that for the election of a king this assembly should be convened in Poland. But so difficult was it to effect an entire incorporation, that this was not finally completed until the year 1569, nearly two centuries after its commencement. The reigning sovereign being the last male survivor of the family of Jaghellon, and no hope being entertained of the continuation of that race, it was perceived to be absolutely necessary that measures of precaution should be employed for preventing the approaching separation, and the two nations were accordingly in all respects united.

Of the countries adjacent to Poland Hungary appears, as I have already remarked, to have been repelled from forming a permanent connection with it by the operation both of general and contingent causes, and disposed to that subsequent connection with Austria, by which they together gave new vigour to the sovereignty of the German empire, when the continually encreasing relaxation of that government had reduced it to a name. A temporary union of Hungary with Poland was indeed again effected in the year 1440, when * the second of the Lithuanian sovereigns of the latter country was invited to assume the go-

* Cromerus, p. 317, 318.

vernment of the former, that he might defend it against the Turks, to whose formidably growing power it was continually exposed. This connection was however dissolved as soon as the emergency had passed away, and both in the union and in the separation we perceive a curious operation of contingent agency. The widow of the sovereign of Hungary was pregnant at the time of his death, but as the child might not prove to be a male, and as, even if this had not been doubtful, the perilous situation of the country would not admit the government of an infant, the Hungarians tendered to the king of Poland the crown of their country with the hand of their queen. The child afterwards proved to be a prince, and naturally became the object of a party, which after four years placed him on the throne of Hungary, when their Polish sovereign had perished in an engagement with the Turks: the Poles on the other hand elected the brother of their late sovereign, and the connection of the two kingdoms was at an end.

Moldavia and Walachia * had submitted to the Poles towards the end of the fourteenth century; about the middle of the fifteenth the Turks became formidable neighbours, and the inhabitants of these countries wavered in their submission between the two governments; in

* Hartknoch, p. 210, &c.

a later period the Turkish power gained the ascendancy, and they became provinces of the Ottoman empire. These two countries thus appear to have been long a frontier of the Christian states, and were in this respect deemed so important by the greatest of the Polish princes, Sigismond I. that he was on that account unwilling to proceed to any extremity in punishing them for their frequent infractions of treaties. When this frontier had at length become a possession of the enemy, the loss of it was yet conducive to the advantage of Christendom, as it was an exciting cause of those extraordinary efforts, by which the Polish Sobieski in the year 1688 crushed the power of the Turks under the walls of Vienna.

The western and north-western frontiers of Poland were bordered by Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia, since united in the kingdom, which has taken its appellation from the last. Silesia, or at least a considerable portion of it, appears * to have been subject to the earlier kings of Poland. In the twelfth century however the German emperor, having taken part in the dissensions of the royal family of Poland, obliged the king to grant Silesia as a duchy to one of his brothers and his posterity; and hence began a gradual alienation of this territory from Poland, which was

* Hartknoch, p. 105, &c.

accelerated by the encreasing influence of the Germans, until at length in the fourteenth century it became a German principality—Brandenburgh, the electors of which have founded the Prussian kingdom, was * like Silesia originally occupied by the Slavian tribes, though it does not appear to have been subject to Poland; and in the beginning of the tenth century the city of Brandenburgh was built by those tribes as a barrier against the power of the Germans. The city was however taken by the German emperor about the year 930, on which occasion the territory was constituted a margravate, as it was a frontier-country exposed to the incursions of the Poles: the margravate was afterwards enlarged by the addition of some districts, which were torn from the Polish kingdom—Lastly † Prussia, originally occupied by Slavians, and afterwards possessed by Goths or Germans, was in the beginning of the eleventh century subdued by the king of Poland; it was a second time reduced in the latter part of the same century, and a third time in the beginning of the twelfth. The subsequent insurrection and violences of the Prussians determined the Polish king in the thirteenth century to cede the country to the Teutonic order, which he invited to take possession of it; but when these knights had sub-

* Martknoch, p. 125, &c.

† Ibid. p. 6, 154, &c.

dued the inhabitants after a struggle of fifty-three years, they became in their turn not less hostile to the Poles, whom they provoked to reestablish their dominion over one half of the territory, while the other remained in the possession of the order, though in dependence on the Polish government. The Teutonic order, becoming impatient of the ascendancy of Poland, resolved to elect as their chiefs such princes, as should be able to protect them ; and the result was, after a variety of changes, that connection with the electorate of Brandenburg, which formed the germ of the modern kingdom of Prussia.

The assaults which the modern system of Europe has sustained from the nations of Tartary, may be distinguished into three series: the first of these would comprehend the assaults, which were made by the dynasty begun by Ghingis-khan in the year 1202 ; the second those made by the dynasty begun by Tamerlane in the year 1370 ; and the third those of the Turkish empire, which acquired the possession of Constantinople in the year 1453. These successive series of assaults were, it is observable, chiefly received by distinct parts of the system of the west. As the early government of Russia constituted an exterior barrier, which stretched from the Baltic almost to the Black-Sea, it necessarily received the principal

shock of the former of the two Tartarian dynasties, though a part of it was also extended into Poland; this shock it long sustained, and when it at length gave way, it formed a spoil sufficiently considerable and attractive to divert the principal attention of the conquerors from the nations which it had protected. The Tartars of the other dynasty, the founder of which had inflicted a deadly blow on the Tartarian dominion of Russia, appear to have directed more of their efforts against Poland, especially against Podolia, the province most exposed; and the princes of the Lithuanian dynasty of Poland were accordingly engaged in frequent struggles with these barbarians. The Turks, possessed of a more southern country, directed their hostilities against states of a less northerly situation, and Hungary in this period became the debatable territory: but though the Poles were not the advanced party in this great struggle, they formed a most useful and necessary body of reserve for the support of the Hungarians, and the second of their Lithuanian sovereigns, who had been also constituted king of Hungary for the very purpose, employed the whole force of his original kingdom in the contest. As the power of the Turks encreased, even Germany was indebted to Poland for protection, the capital of the empire having towards the end of the seven-

teenth century been rescued from impending destruction by the heroism of Sobieski and his Polish army. This appears to have been the peculiar function of the government of Poland, which accordingly sunk rapidly into anarchy and weakness, as soon as it had been fully and finally discharged.

(a) The posterity of the Slavians occupy at present Bohemia, Bulgaria, Servia, Dalmatia, and a part of Hungary; and are scattered through Pomerania, Silesia, and other countries of Germany. L'Evesque, tome 1. p. 5, 6.

(b) Hartknoch, who mentions six other etymologies of the name, decides that the Poloni have received their appellation from the Bulani, a Sarmatian people described by Ptolemy as situated near the Vistula. p. 20. D'Anville chooses rather to derive the name from *pole*, signifying a plain. *Etats de l'Europe*, p. 40.

Poland, in the first period of its history, was, according to Hartknoch, divided from Russia by the Vistula, and comprehended the provinces since called the Greater and Lesser Poland, with a part of Masovia, Silesia, and a

territory which he names the new *marche*. p. 30. According to D'Anville, that which composed the original duchy of Poland, did not extend beyond the Vistula, except so far as it included Masovia : but on the other side it comprehended Silesia even to the border of Bohemia ; and Pomerania and the new *marche* formed on the Oder were also annexed to it. *Etats de l'Europe*, p. 42. Rodericus, a writer of the twelfth century, has described Poland as bounded in his time by the Oder on the west, by the Vistula on the east, by the Rutheni or Rugii and the Scythian Sea or Baltic on the north, and by the woods of the Bohemians on the south. But after the time of this writer the boundary of Poland was gradually advanced beyond the Vistula, especially by Casimir the Great. Hartknoch, p. 73.

(c) It is recorded that in the time of this prince, when the priest began the Gospel in the celebration of divine service, the nobles drew their swords half-way from their sheaths, and kept them in that position until it was concluded, as if professing that they were ready to die in defence of their religion. Cromerus, p. 35.

(d) The German writers contend that Poland had been reduced by Charlemagne, and continued long in subjection ; which those of Poland as strenuously deny. The question is

discussed by Hartknoch, who refers the commencement of the subjection of Poland to the reign of Miecislaus I, a contemporary of Otho I. of Germany. *De Rep. Pol.* p. 42, &c. D'Anville pronounces that the year 1295 was the epoch of Polish independence. *Etats de l'Europe*, p. 42. Rhodolph of Hapsburgh had been advanced to the throne of the empire in the year 1273, and this event had been preceded by an interregnum of two years. Hartknoch therefore assigns an epoch twenty-five years earlier.

(e) In the year 1241 the Tartars ravaged the whole of Poland, and penetrated even to Silesia, where they gained a great victory. They are said to have filled nine very large sacks with the ears of the slain. Hartknoch, p. 70.

(f) Cromerus, p. 208, 210. This historian mentions, besides the provinces of Volhinia and Masovia, certain tracts which are by him named *Belsensis* and *Brestensis*.

(g) This establishment was completed by Jaghellon, who brought teachers from the university of Prague. Hartknoch, p. 81.

(h) He had offended the Poles by refusing to remove an obnoxious governor of the Greater Poland, by causing them to retire when he began his dinner, and by conferring on a Bohemian an ecclesiastical office in Poland contrary to the entreaty of the nobles of that country. Cromerus, p. 230.

(i) This princess died in the year 1399, but the right of Jaghellon was supported by a second marriage with a grand-daughter of Casimir the Great.

(k) Lithuania had just then attained its greatest magnitude, being augmented by the addition of some Russian provinces and of the Polish province of Podolia, and thus extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In the year 1478 it began to decrease. Hartknoch, p. 199, 200.

(l) In these the king declared first how he would act in regard to the exercise of the powers of the crown, as in making war, concluding peace, appointing magistrates, and coining money; then he determined certain other matters important to the public interests, as his marriage, the management of the possessions of the crown, the building of castles, and others of the same nature; and lastly he sometimes promised to fulfil certain special conditions, as that his kindred should not be raised above the other nobles, or that he should recover a province which had been conquered by the enemy. Ibid. p. 338.

(m) The margrave of Brandenburg in the year 1561, obtained of the government of Poland, that the investiture should be extended to the electoral branch of his family. Pfeffel, tome 2. p. 132.

(n) A palatine was in the Polish language denominated *wogewoda*, a name apparently derived from the two words *woyny* and *wodz*, which signify *war* and *leader*. Hartknoch, p. 30.

(o) The territory of Poland was divided into these provinces: the Greater Poland, the Lesser Poland, Lithuania, Masovia, Prussia, Samogitia, White Russia, Red Russia and the southern part of Livonia. Ibid. p. 216.

(p) So difficult was this union esteemed, that the wisest senators were accustomed to say, that they would suffer a halter to be thrown round their necks, when it should have been effected. To this they added, as another event entirely hopeless, that the laws should be executed. Ibid. p. 197.

(q) When Jaghellon, who had been sovereign duke of Lithuania, became king of Poland, he constituted his brother great-duke of that province, and after him some others: after the death of Jaghellon the Lithuanians chose their own great-dukes until the year 1529, when the son of Sigismund the king was chosen: from this time the dignity was united to the crown, the young prince having been also declared king of Poland. Gotfridi Lengnich. Jus. Publ. Regni Pol. tom. 1. p. 30. Gedani 1742.

LECTURE XXXVI.

Of the histories of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, in the period preceding the dissolution of the Union of Calmar in the year 1524.

Danish invasions of Ireland . . .	798
————— England . . .	832
Beginning of the connected history of	
Denmark	840
Danes established in Ireland . . .	845
Ireland colonized from Norway . .	874
Beginning of the connected history of	
Norway	885
Rolfr or Rollo and his Norwegians set-	
tle in France	911
Norway conquered by Denmark . .	950
Partitioned with Sweden	994
Danes reduced in Ireland	1014
First restoration of Denmark and Danes	
established in England	1017
Norway independent	
Beginning of the connected history } of Sweden	1035
England abandoned by the Danes } Denmark and Norway united	1042

Norway again separated	1047
Improvement of Sweden begun . . .	1054
Interrupted	1138
Second restoration of Denmark begun	1157
Interrupted	1222
Improvement of Sweden again begun	1279
Interrupted	1303
Third restoration of Denmark begun	1340
Union of Calmar	1397
Union finally dissolved	1524

IN the series of these lectures we are now led to the consideration of the north-western countries of Europe, which have in other times been distributed into the three states of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, but nearly for the three last centuries have been reduced to two, Denmark and Norway having been united while Sweden constituted a separate monarchy. These countries, composed of two peninsulas and of the dependent islands, must necessarily have constituted an important organ in the combinations of the general system of Europe, though their local circumstances may have incapacitated them for becoming a principal member. Remote in situation, and deprived of many natural advantages by an inferiority of climate or of soil, they could not, especially the Scandinavian peninsula, which

included Sweden and Norway, acquire a preponderance of population and opulence; but their hardy inhabitants, excited to their utmost energies of exertion at once by the difficulties to which they were immediately subjected, and by the almost universal opportunity of maritime enterprise, must have possessed all the influence which belongs to superior activity.

The population of these countries was received from a source different from that which supplied the population of Russia and Poland, as they were occupied (*a*) by that earlier migration of the Goths or Germans, which preceded the migration of the Slavian tribes. Odin (*b*), whom the historian of the Roman empire has aptly denominated the Mahomet of the north, is supposed to have led his followers from the country lying between the Euxine and the Caspian seas into the north-western regions of Europe, about seventy years before the Christian era, when he had vainly endeavoured to support Mithridates against Rome, and was forced by Pompey to seek safety in flight. That the Goths were early established in Sweden there is indeed sufficient evidence; * from the ninth to the twelfth century the Goths and Swedes composed two distinct and sometimes hostile members of the same monarchy, and a

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* Decline and Fall, &c, vol. 1. p. 293.

large district of Sweden is still divided into East and West Gothland. To these north-western countries the tide of Gothic emigration appears first to have flowed, and then to have turned against the western empire, when the barriers by which it had been restrained, had become too feeble to support its pressure.

Montesquieu * has given to Scandinavia in particular the illustrious title of the resource of the liberty of Europe, and has added that from this country issued forth those valiant nations, who taught the world that nature had made men equal, and that they could not reasonably be dependent on others but for their own happiness. And if these countries had only formed a reservoir, from which the stream of liberty might be most conveniently poured upon the exhausted regions of the south, to restore the decaying vigour of the human character, such a destination would have sufficiently justified their importance to the general system ; for to provide such a seasonable supply in the extreme crisis of human society, might surely be deemed a sufficient explanation of the arrangement, from which these remote and secondary countries had received the peculiarities of their conformation. But such a consideration is very far from exhibiting the whole of the relations subsisting between the

* *Esprit des Lois*, liv. 17. ch. 5.

other countries of Europe and the three which are the subject of this present lecture; these have been numerous and various, they have been continued through the entire period of modern history, and in the changing modifications of the general system they have accommodated themselves to successive exigencies, assuming in more recent times a character wholly different from that which they had originally borne. In the period reviewed in this lecture we shall see the inhabitants of Denmark and Norway acting upon our own part of the United Empire, upon England, and upon France; in a succeeding period we shall see Sweden interposing with effect in the great combinations of policy terminated in the treaties of Westphalia; and in the concluding period of the modern history of Europe we shall see the three countries forming relations with the empire of Russia, by which they constituted a new system of policy, distinct from that of the southern and principal nations of Europe, but subordinate and instrumental in its operations.

The view which I propose to take of these countries in the present lecture will extend indeed beyond the time of those expeditions, by which the northmen established themselves in Ireland, England and France; for it will comprehend also the relations subsisting between

the Danish government and the great Hanseatic confederacy of the trading cities of the north, and moreover the formation and dissolution of the union of Calmar, which for a time combined with those of Sweden and Norway in one triple monarchy. The dissolution of that union which separated Sweden, while it left Norway conjoined with Denmark, was the commencement of the more recent dispositions of the three states, terminated only by the late arrangement which has transferred Norway to Sweden, and thus reduced the Scandinavian peninsula under a single government.

The three establishments which the northmen successively formed in Ireland, England, and France, though they all arose from the barbarism which rendered these people incapable of finding subsistence and occupation in their native countries, produced results remarkably different as they were formed in different circumstances. The invasions of Ireland, which began (c) in the year 798, procured for the Danes at the end of forty-seven years a firm establishment in this country, from which they were driven in the year 1014 by the memorable victory of Clontarf; those of England, which began in the year 787, ended in placing the Danish king on the throne about three years after his people had been expelled from Ireland, which throne however was quietly relin-

quished at the expiration of the short period of twenty-five years ; and that of France, which (d) was effected in the year 911, gave being to a permanent settlement, which, after a hundred and fifty-five years was able to achieve a lasting acquisition of the neighbouring kingdom of England, abandoned by the Danes as untenable but twenty-four years before that enterprise. Diversified however as were these invasions in regard to immediate success, they were yet more various in respect to the effects produced in the invaded countries. The Danish invasions of Ireland, while they drove away the literature which had there found shelter from the northern barbarians, to the continent of Europe, which by the restoration of tranquillity had been prepared for its reception, served also to break down the native government of Ireland, and prepare it for submitting to the feeble efforts of conquest afterwards exerted by the government of England. The Danish invasions of England served * to complete the consolidation of the English monarchy, in which the northern kingdoms of the Saxons had been but imperfectly united with the rest ; and at the same time gave the impulse to the first formation of an English navy, which had been neglected by the Saxons, and infused a new portion of energy into the national character,

* Vol. 1. p. 410, &c.

which had been relaxed in the indolence of a successful establishment. Lastly, the enterprise of Rollo, which transformed the French province of Neustria into the Norwegian province of Normandy, provided the political instrument, which at once effected an important revolution in the government of England, and gave a beginning to that series of relations, in which the two great governments of France and England have been since that time involved.

The invasions both of Ireland and of England preceded the commencement of the connected histories of the countries of the north. Mallet, the historian of Denmark, has placed the commencement of the connected history of that country at the beginning of the reign of Gormon, whom he calls however the twenty-second king; Johnstone, who collected his *Celto-Scandic Antiquities* from the (*e*) writers of Iceland, has begun his annals of Norway with the reign of Harold, in the year 885; and Pufendorf, though he begins the history of Sweden at the arrival of Odin, does not venture to assign the times of the commencements of the several reigns before the year 1035. From these different epochs then I shall begin the consideration of the histories of the three countries.

When we survey the geographical circumstances of Denmark Sweden and Norway, we

cannot fail to remark some particulars, which appear to have influenced very decisively the characters and fortunes of the three nations. Denmark, while it enjoys an immediate communication with Germany, is composed of a peninsula much indented by the sea, and of several adjacent islands, and was thus at once adapted to form such connections with the southern governments as might introduce into these northern regions the improvements of civilized society, and also to become the commercial country of the northern Mediterranean. Sweden on the other hand, though not excluded from the Baltic, is not favourably situated for commanding the entrance of that sea, and (f) was even, except during one short interval of thirty years, excluded from the Sound until the year 1658, when the provinces of Scania or Schonen, Halland and Blecking were ceded by Denmark. A country thus disqualified by situation for contending in commercial enterprise with Denmark, and also destitute of the advantage of insular possessions, with which its rival was amply supplied, was disposed to be military rather than commercial, a character for which its more rugged territory furnished a hardy population. Norway lastly, being too inconsiderable in resources to maintain an independent existence, and separated from Sweden by a natural boundary of mountains, while its

coast reaches to the vicinity of Denmark, was naturally urged (*g*) to connect itself with the latter rather than with the former, and thus at once to augment the commercial resources of Denmark, and to complete its command of the Baltic. In this general view of the three countries we accordingly discover an arrangement of local circumstances, fitted to form two of them into a maritime power which should command the navigation of the Baltic, and to constitute the remaining one a military power, such as we know has acted with energy first upon the German empire, and afterwards upon Russia; and we see this latter government so compressed by the encroaching dominion of Denmark, which held almost constant possession of a province within its natural boundary, that it was excited to efforts of resistance, which prepared it for more considerable and distant exertions of its force.

The historian of Denmark * has given a brief, but interesting recital of the series of vicissitudes experienced by that country, a series comprehending an extraordinary number of alternations of prosperous and adverse fortune, the latter being in one case so extreme as to be only less disastrous than an entire subjugation. This monarchy, says he, from which went forth the conquerors of the southern states, appears

* Mallct, tome 5. p. 5, &c.

to have been exhausted by the effort, and to have fallen back into barbarism and obscurity; it afterwards resumed its vigour, and extended its sway over England; it then became enfeebled by violent disorders, which were occasioned by injudicious partitions of authority; from this second relapse it again recovered; but when it had attained to an unhoped prosperity, and had considerably advanced its frontier on the side of Germany, a revolution as unexpected precipitated it into an almost total destruction; another restoration prepared it for its highest aggrandisement in the triple union of the kingdoms of the north; and the immediate successor of the illustrious female, who had accomplished this union, prepared the causes of the dissensions by which it was ultimately destroyed, and Denmark reduced to its connection with Norway. Such a series of revolutions, comprehending four different periods of prosperous, and as many of adverse fortune, has not been paralleled in any other country of Europe: but it is what might naturally be expected in a secondary and exterior state, the vicissitudes of which might be supposed to be wholly subordinate to the varying exigencies of the system, with which it was connected. The two Sicilies have been shown to have stood in such a subordinate relation to the other southern governments, and to have experienced such

a variety of fortune as corresponded to the other relations of the system, in which these governments were beginning to be combined. Denmark in the same manner, as like the Sicilies it was not a principal member of the system, appears to have had a varying fortune accommodated to the changes of more considerable states ; but as it possessed much more powerful means of acting upon the system, so was it subjected to alternations of fortune more remarkably contrasted.

Before the reign of Gormon, the commencement of which is referred to the year 840,* Denmark had been almost continually divided between two or more princes ; but this prince had about that time succeeded in reducing the separate provinces, and establishing his sovereignty over the whole territory. The piratical expeditions of the royal family had probably withdrawn their attention from the usurpations of inferior chieftains, and thus afforded them favourable opportunities for dismembering the monarchy. Gormon after a reign of extraordinary length was succeeded by Harold II, who in the year 950 effected the conquest of Norway, thus externally aggrandising his country, which had been internally consolidated by his predecessor. The bearing of this aggrandisement has been remarked by the historian,

* Mallet, tome 3. p. 45, 46.

who * has observed that it contributed not a little to the conquest of England, which the sovereigns of this country not long afterwards effected, as it supplied them with a considerable augmentation of their forces, and with ports convenient for their expeditions. The Danes had long before possessed themselves of some provinces of England, and ravaged the others with an impunity, which could not fail to excite them to more considerable enterprises. Sweyne I. who succeeded Harold, accordingly achieved the conquest, for which preparations had thus been made. In the reign of his father he had formed a powerful party, and, being impatient to acquire possession of the crown, had engaged in an open revolt : after his accession it became his policy, not less than his inclination, to give employment to the forces which he had assembled to support his rebellion ; and the situation of England, exposed as it was by the imbecility of King Ethelred, surnamed *the Unready*, invited the attacks of an enemy.

The influences of the Danish conquest in assisting the improvement of the young government of England have been noticed in an early lecture of this course. It only remains for me to observe that the time of that conquest was, in its relation to the state of Denmark, well accommodated to favour its beneficial operation on the conquered country. The Danes

* Mallet, tome 2. p. 57, 77.

were (*h*) for the greater part pagans, even down to the time of the death of Sweyne who effected the conquest ; during therefore all that long series of predatory wars which preceded this event, extending almost through two hundred years, the desire of plunder was stimulated and directed by religious hostility ; and it is known that the violences which the invaders exercised upon the monks, gave a salutary check to the monastic spirit, which had been indulged to an excess detrimental to the interests of the kingdom. When indeed a Danish king was placed upon the throne of England, the peace and good order of the country required that the conquerors should profess the same religion with the conquered ; and accordingly we observe that at the death of Sweyne the last obstacles which opposed the reception of the Christian religion among the Danes were removed, and that under the government of Canute it was completely established.

The conquest was effected by Sweyne in the year 1014 ; but as he died at the expiration of a year from that event, and the Saxon Ethelred was then reinstated in his authority, the Danish government of England did not regularly commence until the year 1017, when Canute took possession of the throne : it was terminated by the accession of Edward the Confessor in the year 1041, when it had subsisted

twenty-four years. Of this period of twenty-four years eighteen were occupied by the vigorous reign of Canute, who not only maintained his authority over his two kingdoms of Denmark and England, but also in the year 1026 effected the reduction of Norway, and thus secured his more distant acquisition from the enterprises of his neighbours. The temporary possession of the government of England could not fail to exercise some considerable influence on that of its conquerors, and the personal character of Canute appears to have been well fitted to render that influence beneficial. The Danish historians * represent this prince as an enlightened improver of his original country, who eagerly availed himself of the opportunity afforded to him by the acquisition of one more advanced in civilization : he established a great number of English in Denmark, giving them the greater part of the ecclesiastical preferments ; he caused a code of laws to be composed in England, and therefore probably adopted many parts of the jurisprudence of that country ; and as in his coins, the first struck in Denmark, English words are found mixed with the Danish, we may conclude that the artists had been brought from England.

Immediately after the death of Canute every thing tended to separate England from Den-

* Mallet, tome 3. p. 137, 150, 157.

mark, and to reduce the power of the latter. The temporary connection of the two countries had operated beneficially on both, but must have been prejudicial if longer continued; it was desirable therefore that the union should be dissolved as soon as possible after the death of the able prince, who had exerted his utmost efforts for the good government of both kingdoms. Nor was it sufficient that they should be disjoined. A distinct consideration will discover to us that it was necessary that Denmark, which had been lately so powerful and so distinguished, should for a long period sink into weakness and humiliation. To form the system of the north it was necessary that another power should acquire strength and stability, and this could be effected only during the weakness of that which had been hitherto predominant. Sweden, it has been remarked, begins its connected history at the year 1035; and its first improvement * is represented to have begun in the year 1054, and to have been continued to the year 1138, the five reigns which occupied this interval having been described as the golden age of that country. If these times be now compared with those of the death of Canute and of the subsequent restoration of Denmark, the bearing of the humiliation of that country will be distinctly per-

* Hist. de Suede par Pufendorf, tome 1. p. 80. Amst. 1732;

ceived. The very same year 1035, in which Sweden began to acquire consistency and order, was that of the death of Canute the Great, as if he had been just then removed out of the way of its improvement ; and as the period of Swedish improvement was extended to the year 1138, so from the year 1157, which followed at the short interval of nineteen years, did Denmark again begin to assert her predominance in the north. To hope that a state should be contented with its domestic prosperity, and manifest no disposition to encroach upon that of a neighbouring people, is the dream of a visionary : the real history of mankind teaches a different expectation, and will justify the importance which has been ascribed to the temporary degradation of the Danish power, as connected with the early improvement of Sweden.

The history of Denmark from the death of Canute, exhibits during one hundred and twenty-two years, with one short interruption, a series of misfortune and humiliation terminating at the death of Sweyne III. in the year 1157. Canute * had by his own appointment dissolved the triple union of his kingdoms, having bequeathed them separately to his three sons ; but Norway was yet more effectually disjoined from the others by the expulsion of the

* Mallet, tome 3. p. 149.

prince to whom it had been bequeathed, the mother of the young prince having given some offence to the nation. England, which was at the same time separated from Denmark, was soon afterwards again united with it by the advancement of the king of Denmark to the English throne after the death of his brother; but the renewed connection was finally dissolved by the imbecility of this prince, and (*i*) the almost total extinction of the family of Canute. Denmark and Norway were indeed reunited after the death of Hardicanute the last of the Anglo-Danish kings, the (*k*) Norwegian monarch having been placed upon the throne of Denmark; and we perceive the bearing of this temporary renewal of this connection, in * the success with which their common sovereign encountered the formidable pirates of the Baltic. It should be mentioned to the honour of this illustrious prince, who was named Magnus, that † through moderation he abandoned to Edward the Confessor his pretensions to the crown of England, justly considering two kingdoms as sufficient to exercise all his attention. At his death Denmark and Norway were again separated; and the gradual decay of the former country, which was then again begun, continued without any interruption to the year 1157.

* Mallet, tome 3. p. 165, 169.

† Ibid. p. 178.

Denmark * is represented as at this time dishonoured abroad and enfeebled at home, and requiring all the exertion of a skilful and firm ruler. Such a ruler however it found in Valdemar I, when the death of Sweyne III. had left him in the undivided possession of the throne; his virtues and his talents, great in themselves, had been disciplined in a youth of suffering, and were then well prepared for beginning the restoration of his country. The reign of Valdemar lasted twenty-five years; that of his immediate successor Canute VI. who exalted the prosperity of Denmark to a degree unexampled in its annals, lasted twenty; and during one half of the forty years of the reign of the second Valdemar, its aggrandisement was still progressive. But, says † the historian, that secret power which seems to sport with the establishments of men, had marked this high degree of prosperity as the beginning of a new abasement, a revolution of fortune the more remarkable, as it was from the feeblest of its enemies, that this powerful monarchy then received the first and rudest assaults.

The first period of the recovery of Denmark has been shown to have had an important connection with the interests of the three countries of England, Ireland and France: this second

* Mallet, tome 3. p. 275.

† Ibid. p. 403.

restoration will be found to have been not less directly connected with the establishment of the great commercial league of the continent, the Hanseatic confederacy. From the earliest times, as might naturally be expected, the Baltic sea was the theatre of the piracies of the uncivilized nations by which it was bordered, and * particularly of the Slavian tribes which occupied its southern shore. These latter, who were denominated Venedi or Vandals, though very different from the Vandal invaders of the southern nations of Europe, had indeed about a century before received a signal overthrow from king Magnus; but they still continued their depredations, and were always the most cruel enemies of Denmark. In the final reduction of these pirates was the vigour of this other period of Danish prosperity exercised, and thus was a necessary preparation made for the establishment of that great confederacy of commerce, which connected the traffic of the Rhine with that of the Baltic. For this confederacy indeed † it was also necessary that the Vandal empire of Denmark should be subverted, as its commerce could not otherwise enjoy that freedom, which was indispensable to its success; and the greatness of Denmark had accordingly reached its limit just nineteen years

* Mallet, tome 3. p. 281. Etats formés en Europe, p. 31, 32.

† Lecture 19, vol. 2. p. 438.

before the year 1241, in which the city of Lubeck began that association of trading cities, which flourished with extraordinary prosperity almost three centuries : but if that empire had not been previously established, commerce must have been banished from the shore of the Baltic by the outrages of barbarous violence, which such an empire alone was competent to subdue.

A century of distraction and imbecility, which intervened between the second and the third restoration of Denmark, allowed an ample opportunity for the Hanseatic league to possess itself of the commercial stations of the Baltic. In these remarkable alternations of prosperity and adversity some operation of general causes may be traced : it may be perceived that the practice of bestowing hereditary appanages on the younger members of the royal family, tended naturally to generate disunion and intestine war ; and that the aggrandisement of the clergy, however it might serve to counterbalance the power of the nobles, must have contributed to embarrass and obstruct the authority of the sovereign. But in no other European history does it appear, that the personal qualities of sovereigns have had such a decisive operation on the fortunes of a state : the imprudences, the violences, or the weaknesses, of the Danish monarchs form in a considerable

degree the history of each period of the decline of their people ; and their talents, their virtues, or their energies that of each period of their recovery. It is particularly observable, that immediately before each of these restorations of the vigour of the government, the power of the crown was at the lowest point of depression. During the eleven years preceding the commencement of the former it was the common prey of three claimants, who contested it with open hostility ; and the other was preceded by a confederacy of the nobles, which overcame the sovereign, and during seven years interrupted by an interregnum the succession to the crown. Never indeed had the nation been reduced to such a distressing extremity as on this latter occasion. * The foreign possessions were lost, the property of the crown almost all wrested from it, the royal authority was annihilated, the commerce of the kingdom engrossed by the Hanseatic merchants, and its naval power ruined with its commerce. So † ruined indeed was the country, that a papal interdict, which was continued almost eight years, had scarcely any operation, the public interest exciting no concern.

The prince who began the third restoration of Denmark, was the third of the name of Valdemar. He began to reign in the

* Mallet, tome 4. p. 167, 168.

† Ibid. p. 148, 149.

year 1340, and was, after a vigorous reign of thirty-five years, succeeded by Olafr or Olaus III. the heir apparent of the crown of Norway, whose accession was a preparatory step to the triple union of the northern kingdoms. The accession of Olaus was a consequence of the marriage of Margaret the daughter of Valdemar with Haco the prince of Norway. This marriage did not promise such an important result, as the king of Denmark had then a son living, and there were also alive two other princes of the royal family, a duke of Sleswick and his son ; but the son of the king died of a fever within a few days after the marriage, and the survivor of the two other princes, the young duke of Sleswick, died without issue ten years afterwards, and some months before the death of Valdemar.

Olaus was but five years old when he was (*l*) chosen to succeed to the throne of Denmark ; and his minority afforded a favourable opportunity for the exercise of the extraordinary talents of his mother, who was appointed regent, the celebrated Margaret, distinguished by the appellation of the Semiramis of the north. In such a case as this a minority appears to have been a favourable circumstance, as it formed slowly and gradually a connection between two independent governments, the one people being gratified with the prospect of

being at a future time governed by their own countryman, and the other with the actual administration of a native queen. It happened indeed that two successive minorities contributed to furnish a favourable opportunity for the abilities of Margaret ; and it may be held that, as the delicate and artful management of a female reign was necessary for reconciling such discordant interests, so was such a peculiar combination of circumstances as we observe in this case, indispensable for disposing the fierce warriors of the north to submit themselves to female government. Olaus, who was apparently destined to accomplish the triple union of the north, being the last survivor of the royal families both of Sweden and Norway, and also the king of Denmark, died in the seventeenth year of his age : eight years however before this event the death of his father had transferred to him the crown of Norway, so that two of the three neighbouring kingdoms had at this time become actually united. The * experience of the government of Margaret, and the desire of continuing the union with Norway, determined the Danes to entrust their crown to her, who had already so satisfactorily exercised its powers ; and the Norwegians, though more averse from a female reign, which was even expressly forbidden by

* Mallet, tome 4. p. 265, &c.

their ancient laws, were yet induced to make a similar appointment, by a provision that Eric her grand-nephew, who was then but five years old, should be named to the succession, and should in the interval enjoy the title of king. The advancement of Margaret to the sovereignty of Denmark occurred in the year 1387, the next year she obtained the royal power of Norway, and ten years afterwards the great object of all her policy was attained by the completion of the Union of (*m*) Calmar, which combined these two kingdoms with Sweden under a common monarch.

Of the early history of Norway we know little, except the concern which its people took in the various expeditions which infested the more southern countries, and its occasional connection with Denmark. The reign of its first king Harold Harfagre, * who in the year 885 established himself on the throne by the overthrow of all his rivals, is indeed its most interesting period, as it was distinguished by the most remarkable migrations of the inhabitants of Norway. As † many of the conquered sought retreat on distant shores, some of them (*n*) established themselves in Iceland, and thus began a communication, which provided a peaceful refuge for (*o*) the literature of the north, when

* Antiq. Celto-Scandicæ, p. 1. Havniæ, 1786.

† Ibid. p. 2, 3

it was driven from the continent by frequent and long-continued hostilities; while others, who had possessed themselves of (*p*) the Scottish isles, and from them infested their original country with their depredations, provoked Harold to an expedition, by which in the year 888 he acquired to Norway the dominion of these islands, extending his ravages even to that of Man. The literary character of Iceland * was maintained chiefly from the year 1000, in which with the knowledge of Christianity the art of writing became more generally known, to the year 1264, in which, being reduced by Norway, it lost the animating principle of independence. The dominion of the Scottish isles was abandoned by Norway in the year 1468, when † the isles of Shetland and Orkney were ceded by a marriage-treaty to James III. of Scotland, the Hebrides and Man ‡ having been already in the year 1266 transferred to that country for a pecuniary consideration of a thousand marks, with an annual payment of a hundred. Harold, having prohibited his subjects from committing piracy within the limits of their country, gave occasion also to another migration, which was attended by most important consequences. § Rolfr or Rollo

* Letters on Iceland by Uno Von Triol, p. 161. † Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. 1. p. 616, 834. ‡ Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 177, 178. Edin. 1776. § Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 6, 7.

violated the ordinance, and in the year 896 was driven into exile ; banished from his country, he sought shelter in the western islands of Scotland, from which he endeavoured to establish himself in England ; and being repelled from that country by the vigilance of Alfred, he in the year 911 removed to France, from which settlement his descendant in the fifth generation ascended the throne of England.

Sweden, though claiming the same antiquity with Denmark and Norway, was in its earlier period precluded by its situation from connecting itself in such important relations with the other countries of Europe. Not in any place bordering on the ocean, and having little communication even with the Baltic, it was not fitted for engaging extensively in maritime expeditions ; and being separated from the more improved countries of Europe, it was as little adapted to concern itself in military enterprises. In the period preceding the union of Calmar therefore we cannot expect to find any thing particularly observable in the history of this country, except the successive arrangements by which its government was internally adjusted, and those which afterwards disposed it to yield to the ascendancy of the adjacent kingdoms in forming a temporary combination.

In the gradual formation of the Swedish government, it is in the first place observable,

that * in the earlier part of the eleventh century the kingdom of the Goths was united to ancient Sweden, which was thus extended towards the Sound, or the entrance of the Baltic, though the province of Scania, which was held by the Danes, still separated the kingdom from that important passage. We are also informed that the five reigns, which occupied the interval between the middle of the eleventh and that of the twelfth century, constituted, as has been already remarked, the golden age of Sweden, not merely because the Christian religion was during this time established by the piety and the exemplary conduct of the sovereigns, but also because the authority of law was carefully maintained by an exact administration of justice. This auspicious period, so well fitted for preparing the foundation of a new government, was concluded in the year 1138. It was immediately succeeded by a series of domestic contention, arising first from the competitions of the two united kingdoms of the Swedes and Goths about the elections of their common sovereign, and afterwards from the divisions of the several members of the reigning family. But though this was an agitated, it was yet an improving period of the Swedish history, for we find frequent mention of the exertions of the kings to amend the

* Pufend. tome i. p. 76, &c.

legislation of the country. At length in the year 1279 Magnus became king of Sweden, and the eleven years of his reign, with thirteen of that of his son, during which the government was on account of a minority conducted by an able minister, formed the period of the greatest improvement in its earlier history. Magnus * maintained the administration of justice with so much effect, that he acquired the surname of Ladelas, which intimated that locks were rendered useless ; having † married a daughter of a count of Holstein, he was enabled to introduce into Sweden a considerable number of persons of merit, whom he supported in opposition to the jealousies of his nobles ; and so successfully did he exert his commanding influence in encreasing the resources and the power of the crown, that the historian of Sweden was of opinion, ‡ that if he had not been prevented by death, he would have bequeathed an absolute authority to his children. His son Birger being but eleven years old when he succeeded to the throne, the government was administered by a regent during thirteen years with wisdom and with vigour, and in this interval it was enacted, among other legislative reforms, (q) that no man should thenceforward be bought or sold. Thus was the kingdom of

* Pufend. tome 1. p. 105. † Ibid. p. 102.

‡ Ibid. p. 106.

Sweden gradually consolidated and improved ; and thus was it qualified to sustain the long series of suffering which it was destined to undergo in the preparation for its union with Denmark, and in its subsequent struggle for independence.

In the previous arrangements which respectively disposed Denmark and Sweden to a union, we might expect to find a difference corresponding to the stations which they respectively held in the combination when it had been effected, Denmark having been in that combination the predominant, and Sweden the inferior and the constrained member of the confederacy. Agreeably to such an expectation we have seen that in the former country the union was preceded by about half a century of energetic government, fitting it for assuming a commanding character ; whereas in Sweden the government, which in two centuries and a half had been gradually acquiring consistency and strength, was in the century preceding the union so relaxed and enfeebled, that it was disposed to yield without resistance to a foreign ascendancy. The latter part of the reign of Birger, during which he himself held the reigns of government, was distracted by the dissensions which prevailed between him and his two brothers, and by the discontent which his own oppressive conduct excited in the minds of his sub-

jects. Birger was at length driven from his throne, and Magnus, the infant-son of a brother whom he had caused to be starved to death, was substituted in his room. This prince contributed in a twofold manner to the accomplishment of the union. The kingdom of Norway, which he inherited by his mother, he afterwards ceded to his son Haco, who married Margaret of Denmark : and the Swedish historian (r) has remarked, that the oppressive exactions which were occasioned by the imprudent enterprises of the latter part of his reign, were the cause of all the misfortunes, with which the kingdom was afterwards afflicted. Magnus, like his predecessor, was driven from the throne for his misconduct, and Albert duke of Mecklenburgh, who was a grandson of his sister, was elected king, the deposition of Magnus having involved the rejection of his son Haco, then king of Norway.

In the immediate circumstances also of the union a peculiarity is observable, which corresponds to the situation of Sweden as a reluctant member of the league. By the election of Albert Sweden became subject to the government of a stranger, who * inherited from his mother the nearest pretension to the throne of Denmark. This would seem to promise a connection of the two kingdoms formed by the regular

* Pufend. tome 1. p. 146.

succession of Albert to the one crown after that he had been elected to the other. The event was however very different, and the difference seems to merit particular attention, as exercising an important influence on the fortune of the union, which was at length effected. Valdemar III, king of Denmark, left only two daughters, the elder of whom was the mother of Albert, and the younger was married to Haco king of Norway. To fill their vacant throne the Danes * in their anxiety to accomplish this union, elected Olafr or Olaus, the son of Haco king of Norway, because, besides his right of inheritance in regard to this country, he also derived from his father a pretension to the crown of Sweden, whereas Albert, the reigning king of Sweden, had no pretension to that of Norway. A connection was in this manner quietly effected between Norway and Denmark by the advancement of Olaus to the throne of the latter country, while the rival pretensions of Olaus and Albert generated a war between this country and Sweden, and rendered the union at length effected a conquest instead of a voluntary alliance. Norway accordingly continued to be connected with the crown of Denmark, while the union of Sweden with the same country was almost from its commencement an occasion of hostility, and was

* Mallet, tome 4. p. 244.

at length finally dissolved. The reign of Albert did indeed, like those of his two predecessors Birger and Magnus, contribute to promote the union by offending and alienating the people of Sweden. When * he had, after a struggle of twenty years, succeeded in establishing his dominion over the whole of the country, he aspired to the possession of absolute power, and for the attainment of this object introduced a considerable number of Germans, whom he gratified with all the advantages which he could bestow; he then proposed to enrich himself by annexing to the domains of the crown a third part of all the estates of land belonging to secular persons, as well as those belonging to ecclesiastics; and as he actually proceeded to seize the portions which he claimed, he drove the nobility to seek protection from Margaret of Denmark. Such were the various circumstances which prepared this important revolution, at the very time † when the extinction of the male descendants of the three royal families had, as queen Margaret remarked, facilitated its accomplishment.

It has been already intimated that the immediate bearing of this celebrated union related to the Hanseatic Confederacy. Of this confederacy Lubeck, ‡ which is adjacent to the Baltic,

* Pufend. tome 1. p. 149—151. † Ibid. p. 162.

‡ Mallet, tome 6. p. 165, &c.

was the principal city, and the trade of this sea formed a principal part of its commerce. The confederated cities had accordingly advanced with rapid, and nearly successful strides towards the possession of a monopoly of the trade of the Baltic. They had already, as has been remarked, almost destroyed the commerce and the marine of Denmark; they had given the most strenuous assistance of their fleets to the rival power of Sweden, of the naval competition of which they were not apprehensive; * they had extorted from Denmark a cession of a principal part of the province, which she possessed on the Swedish side of the Sound; and they had recently formed a powerful settlement at Bergen in Norway, where they had long traded. These considerations seem to indicate that the crisis was come, at which it was to be determined, whether a government of merchants should rule the Baltic and its shores, or whether the confederacy should receive a shock, which should repress its ambition, accelerate its decline, and occasion the removal of the commerce of Europe to other management. The union of Calmar decided the question, for by † connecting the rival powers of the north it deprived the confederacy of the advantage of their distinctness. The same combination served also to hinder the Danes from succeed-

* Mallet, tome 4. p. 234.

† Ibid tome 5. p. 474.

ing to the possession of the commercial ascendancy of the Hanseatic states, for * by the wars which arose from the union it exhausted in ineffectual enterprises that strength, which it was the true interest of the triple government to employ only in commerce. The chief management of the commerce of the Baltic was accordingly from this time divided between the merchants of two cities not included in the confederacy: Hamburg, † which was retained in a neutrality by the homage which it had performed to the king of Denmark, and by the wisdom of its burgomaster, assumed an ascendancy over Lubeck; and Copenhagen, ‡ which now became the capital of Denmark, was rendered the emporium of that commerce, which the Danish merchants had been before obliged to manage at the Hanseatic towns.

The account which has been given of the influence of the Union of Calmar on the commerce of Europe, in repressing the ambition of a mercantile confederacy, the utility of which was limited to a short period, and was at this time to give way to new arrangements of commerce, will assist in explaining the very limited duration of a connection, which was formed in the year 1397, and finally dissolved

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* Mallet, tome 4. p. 339.

† Ibid. p. 336.

‡ Ibid. p. 336, &c.

in the year 1524, when it had subsisted, though with long and frequent interruptions, about one hundred and twenty-seven years, Even at the time of the commencement of the union the Dutch and English had begun to assert a share in the commerce of the Baltic, and before its final dissolution, or * in the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Hansetowns had begun to lose their commercial ascendancy. It appears therefore that, if the Union of Calmar may fairly be considered as constituting the power which repressed the ambition of the confederacy, its duration was accurately accommodated to the exigency. And as the longer continuance of the union was not necessary for such an operation, so would it have been the cause of a very considerable derangement of the general system of Europe. If, says † the historian of Denmark, the successors of Margaret, masters of an immense extent of coast, and of a people eminently qualified for naval service, had invited commerce into their states, and afterwards taken some concern in the conquests of the new world, what empire would have united such resources for ruling at a distance, with a situation so favourable to its own defence? Instead then of a balanced system of two secondary

* Mallet, tome 6. p. 167, 168. † Ibid. tome 4. p. 301. tome 5. p. 413.

governments, which opens the trade of the Baltic to the southern states, one powerful empire would have been formed, which must have acted on the general system with a disturbing influence, not only in general by constituting a force not compensated and balanced by another, but particularly by maintaining an exclusive possession of a trade, which was necessary to the resources of the rest.

But besides the immediate agency of the union in repressing the ambition of the Hanseatic confederacy, another operation may also be discovered, remote and indirect, but not less important, which required that its duration should not be prolonged. It has been repeatedly urged in these lectures, that the energies of a people are excited by the external compression which it receives from some other, being the efforts of a reaction which is opposed to the violence of the compressing state. The Union of Calmar seems accordingly to have been the process, by which the government of Denmark, raised by its commerce to an earlier importance, acted upon that of Sweden, which was then but struggling for its existence, and stimulated it to that energy of military heroism, which afterwards so powerfully affected the two empires of Germany and Russia. If this other bearing of the union be acknowledged, the connection ought not to have continued so

long as to repress and subdue, instead of stimulating and exciting, the spirit of enterprise among the people who were its object. A foreign dominion forced upon a nation would for some time serve to rouse in it every principle of exertion ; but when these principles had been brought into activity, their energy would then be better maintained in the struggle of two independent governments mutually opposed, especially as it would be animated by the remembrance of the degrading inferiority from which the nation had been with difficulty delivered.

Of the two principal of these northern countries, Denmark and Sweden, the latter was evidently more fitted to constitute the power which should in later ages make violent impressions on the neighbouring empires. Not only was it nearly excluded from those maritime communications, which gave a commercial character to its rival and to Norway, but its less genial climate and soil withheld its people in a considerable degree from those agricultural occupations, which in Denmark contributed to mitigate the fierce independence of the inhabitants. The produce of the mines indeed furnished the Swedes with materials of commerce ; but the situation of a miner is not favourable to civilization, and (s) so little did it dispose the people of Sweden to manufacturing industry,

that they began only towards the end of the sixteenth century to work their own iron, the ore having before been carried to Dantzic and other parts of Prussia to be there forged into bars. Though therefore in Denmark, as well as in Sweden, the peasants constituted a distinct order in the state, and were specially represented in the national legislature, yet in the latter country they were so much less controlled by the opposing influence of towns, which were then few and inconsiderable, and they were themselves so much less disposed to subordination by the general habits of their lives, that they assumed a much bolder tone in the public councils, and were characterized by a spirit of independence not observable among those of the neighbouring country. The Dalecarlians in particular, who inhabited one of the most barren and mountainous parts of Sweden, were devoted to the cause of liberty, and not contented with the exemption from all oppression which they enjoyed amidst the fastnesses of nature, were ever ready to sally forth from their (*t*) mountains for the deliverance of their countrymen.

A predisposing cause of the dissolution of the Union of Calmar has been shown to have consisted in that combination of circumstances, which rendered the connection of the two countries the result of mutual hostilities. A

more immediate cause may be found in the state of society, which was not then prepared for so great an operation in policy; and the historian * has accordingly remarked, that the union would have been maintained without difficulty in an age in which the people were more accustomed to submission, the sovereigns more moderate and more humane, and at the same time more powerful, and the ministers better acquainted with the true principles of government. But the formal renewal of the union in the year 1436 has induced the same judicious writer to ascribe much to the operation of individual character. Since, † says he, after so many false measures, imprudences, troubles, and unsuccessful wars, it was reestablished of itself, and solely by the vigour of its own constitution, with what ease might it not have been rendered durable by a prince a little politic, and made the basis of a solid grandeur? But providence had doubtless decreed to subvert the work of Margaret by giving her Eric as a successor. And he afterwards adds, ‡ if we collect the principal particulars of the life of this prince, we must at once perceive that no character could be more opposed than his to that of Margaret, nor consequently any more proper for destroying the great work, which

* Mallet, tome 6. p. 32.

† Ibid. tome 4. p. 397.

‡ Ibid. p. 421.

she had left to him to be accomplished. Nor was the decisive influence of individual character on this interesting occasion observable only among the Danes, for, * while the violences of their sovereign excited a general fermentation in Sweden, at the same time appeared in the person of the Swedish hero, Gustavus Vasa, one of those extraordinary men whom nature seems to produce from time to time for determining the destinies of nations. This young lord, endowed with every quality which could fit him for exciting and directing the enthusiasm of a people, was urged by private wrongs to attempt the deliverance of his country. First driven into revolt by the perfidy with which he had been carried a prisoner into Denmark, when he had been delivered as one of five hostages for the safety of the king in Stockholm, he was afterwards yet more strongly excited to vengeance by a massacre perpetrated in the capital, in which his father had perished with many of his relatives and friends. Having effected his escape from the captivity in which he had been unjustly detained, he obtained some inconsiderable assistance from the people of (u) Lubeck, who were jealous of the union which connected Sweden with Denmark; and he then sought his native land, where however he was received with so much apprehension and even alienation, as

* Mallet, tome 5. p. 471.

would have destroyed the hopes of any other adventurer; and at length, though not without much difficulty and danger, found a refuge among the Dalecarlians: among those hardy and independent peasants he found some who were willing to share his fortune, and from the mountains of Dalecarlia with about two hundred followers he boldly began the enterprise, which after three years terminated in the final dissolution of the union, and in placing Gustavus himself on the throne of his country, as the founder of a new dynasty, and to be the author of the greatness of Sweden.

While Sweden was thus detached from the union, various causes cooperated to maintain the connection of Norway and Denmark, which had not, like that of Sweden and Denmark, been weakened by any antecedent hostility. Eric, * whose conduct contributed so much to the alienation of the Swedes, was particularly indulgent to the Norwegians, one of whom was his favourite minister; and he accordingly experienced from them a degree of attachment, which was not manifested by his other subjects. The Norwegians † also appear to have been of themselves disposed to avoid as much as possible all hostility with their neighbours, whether because this was the wish of their clergy, who exercised a very considerable influence over

* Mallet, tome 4. p. 425.

† Ibid. tome 3. p. 44, 45.

them, or because they had been much enfeebled by their dissensions, by the decay of their commerce, by the loss of the greater part of their ancient conquests, and by the great pestilence of the fourteenth century. In such circumstances too * the example of the sufferings endured by the Swedes in the struggles which preceded the final dissolution of their union with the Danes, would operate powerfully on the minds of the Norwegians in disposing them to adhere to their connection with that people : and indeed † the extraordinary severity employed by the king of Denmark, about twenty years before the separation of Sweden, in punishing a rebellion, which had been excited by the Swedes, destroyed so large a portion of the nobility of Norway, as must have disabled that country for any effort of separation.

Thus was at length a little system constituted of two states of a secondary order, the one comprehending Denmark and Norway, being more of a commercial, the other, which was Sweden, being rather of a military character, though not wholly excluded from commerce. The opposing powers of this system maintained the freedom of the Baltic for the Dutch and the English ; and the dread of the predominance of Denmark served to excite

* Mallet, tome 5. p. 214.

† Ibid. p. 290, 305.

Sweden to those energies, which acted with so much effect on the two northern empires.

(a) The northern migrations have been distributed into three classes, those of the Celts, those of the Gothic or Teutonic tribes, and lastly those of the Slavians; the Celts appear to have first come into the countries of the west, and to have been the ancestors of the Gauls, Britons and Irish. The Iberians, or the original Spaniards, appear to have been a distinct people, and the Celtiberians seem to have been formed by an intermixture of these with the Celts. Pref. by Bishop Percy to Mallet's *Introd. a l'Hist. de Danemar.*

(b) Odin or Woden was the name of the god, whose prophet or priest this leader pretended to be, and the ignorance of succeeding ages so confounded the deity with the priest, that it is now impossible to distinguish them. The Icelandic chronicles describe him as the most persuasive of men, and say that he invented the Runic characters, and first taught poetry to the Scandinavians; they also represent him as the most furious and formidable enemy; and, ascribe to him a skill in magic,

which appears to have caused him to be considered as a god. All this implies only that he was much superior in civilization to the rude inhabitants of the countries which he invaded. Introd. a l'Hist. de Dannemarc, ch. 4. Some trace of the worship paid to Odin is still preserved in the name of the fourth day of the week, the day of Woden or Odin. As he was esteemed the author of magic, and inventor of all the arts, he was considered as corresponding to the Roman Mercury, and therefore the name of the day consecrated to him was expressed in Latin *dies Mercurii*. Ibid. ch. 6. The Edda, which contains all that is known of his religion, is in truth not a system of doctrine, but a course of poetical lectures composed for the use of such young Icelanders, who wished to devote themselves to the profession of *scald* or poet, it being thought necessary that they should retain in their poems the old mythology, though the pagan religion had been then recently abolished in Iceland. The name is derived from a Gothic word signifying *grandmother*, probably thought expressive of an ancient tradition. There have been two Eddas. The first was compiled by Soemund Sigfusson born in Iceland about the year 1057. This having been very voluminous and obscure, a second, which we now have, was composed

by Snorro Sturleson born in the year 1179. Avant-Propos a seconde part. de l'Introd.

(c) According to Usher they began in the preceding year, but the invasion of the year 797 extended only to Rachlin, a small island adjacent to Ireland. O'Halloran's Introd. to the Hist. of Ireland, vol. 3. p. 148, 152.

(d) Rolfr or Rollo was expelled from Norway in the year 896; but he sought a retreat first in the Hæbudæ or Hebrides, then in England, and finally established himself in France. Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 7. Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. 3. p. 94.

(e) Thormod Torfæus, historiographer of Norway, who was born in Iceland in the seventeenth century, and died about the beginning of the eighteenth, is the great authority on whom Mallet relies for the antiquities of Danish history. The inhabitants of that island, probably induced to search for such occupation by an ungenial climate and much leisure, while they were stimulated to activity by a republican government, were particularly fond of history, and among them were formed those poets, who were called *scalds*. The Icelandic annals were however not very ancient. The first Icelandic historian, bishop Isleif, died in the year 1080. His collections are lost, but there is reason for believing that Are, a priest, used them in composing his chronicles, a part of which is still

extant. This writer lived towards the end of the same century ; as did also Rœmund, some of whose works still remain. Snorro Sturleson, who was slain in the year 1241, is he of all their historians, whose works are most useful to us at present. Bishop Percy's Transl. of Mallet's North. Antiq. vol. 1. p. 44, &c.

(*f*) The province of Scania or Schonen, having been much oppressed by heavy imposts, revolted to Sweden in the year 1329, but was restored to Denmark with the others in the year 1359. The peace of the year 1658 also gave the Swedes the free passage of the Sound. Pufend. tome 1. p. 131, 138 ; tome 3. p. 23.

(*g*) The more agricultural state of the Danish dominions constituted another principle of connection, as they could better supply Norway with provisions.

(*h*) In the reign of Sigefroy, who sent ambassadors to Charlemagne in the year 782, several missionaries proceeded to Denmark, at the suggestion of Wittikind, a Saxon prince who had been recently converted. The results of these efforts are not known : but Harold, having been driven from the throne, sought refuge in the court of Lewis the Debonnaire, and having been baptized with his family and a great number of Danish lords in the year 826, was sent back by Lewis with troops and some missionaries, among which latter was

Anschaire, who has been distinguished as the apostle of the north. Harold having been soon driven out, Anschaire did not make much progress in Denmark, but he was well received in Sweden; when however that prince was restored in the year 935, Christianity was again openly favoured. The conversion of Norway, effected towards the end of the tenth century, was originally military. Olaus Trygueson, having been proselyted in England, when like Harold he had been driven from his throne, determined after his restoration that his subjects should embrace his religion, and without employing any missionary to explain its doctrines, required and enforced the acceptance of it in a single campaign. Mallet, tome 3. p. 96, &c.

(i) There remained one prince, Sweyne the son of Estride sister of Canute and of count Ulso; but he was an exile in Sweden, and arrived too late in England. There had also been another named Harold, who was descended by a male line; but he was put to death about the same time by Ordolphus duke of Saxony, brother-in-law of the king of Norway. Mallet, tome 3. p. 161, note, p. 163. note.

(k) Magnus, whose father had been dethroned by Canute, had recovered the kingdom, and concluded with Hardicanute a treaty, by which it was stipulated between them, that

the survivor should succeed to the other in the failure of male issue. He was accordingly, at the death of Hardicanute, placed on the throne of Denmark, partly through fear of his power, partly through respect for his virtues, and partly through a desire of maintaining the connection with Norway. *Ibid.* p. 163, 164.

(*l*) In the account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692, originally published in the year 1694, the author says, that Denmark was, till within these two and thirty years, governed by a king chosen by the people of all sorts : and quotes the answer given by king Valdemar III. to the papal nuncio ; *naturam habemus a Deo, regnum a subditis, divitias a parentibus, religionem a Romana ecclesia, quam si nobis invades renunciamus per præsentis.* p. 27, 28. Lond. 1738. Sweden in the like manner continued to be an elective kingdom through the whole period preceding the Union of Calmar. Sheridan's *hist. of the late Rev. in Sweden*, p. 75. *Dubl.* 1778. Norway appears to have had a similar government. *Tableau des Etats Danois*, tome 1. p. 151. Paris 1802.

(*m*) So called from a town of Sweden, in which it was concluded.

(*n*) That island however had been previously inhabited, and a knowledge of the Christian religion appears to have been introduced, for the

Norwegians found there some Irish books, bells, croziers, and other things of this sort. *Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 14.

(o) An ancient Islandic manuscript has preserved a list of all the poets, who had distinguished themselves in these northern kingdoms, from the reign of Regner Lodbrog to that of Valdemar II, or from the year 750 to the year 1157. Of these, which are two hundred and thirty in number, the greatest part were natives of Iceland. We are also indebted to that island for almost all the historical monuments of the northern nations now remaining. It should however be remarked, that the poetry of the north appears to have been of an extravagant and tumid character, every thing being expressed in it by allegories, metaphors, and hyperboles. *Introd. a l'hist. de Dannemarc*, part. 1. p. 342—344. Torfæus judges that the name *scald*, which they gave to their poets, signified originally a smother and polisher of language. Bishop Percy's transl. vol. 1. p. 386, note.

(p) It is remarkable that one of these, who was the first *jarl* or earl of the Orcades, taught the inhabitants to cut turf for fuel. *Dictus autem est Torf-Einarus, quod excindi et foco, lignorum loco, adhiberi fecit cespites (torf) cum in Orcadibus non erant sylvæ.* This event is placed by Johnstone, whose translation I

have quoted, between the year 896 and 903. *Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 8.

(*q*) The influence of Christianity in producing this ordinance appears from the reason assigned in the law, that it was not just that one Christian should sell another, since Jesus Christ had purchased all with his blood. *Puf.* tome 1. p. 109.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 130, 134, 135. During twenty-eight years however he governed in peace; and in this interval, the historian observes, the people, who in the preceding reigns had been burthened with taxes, and harassed by civil wars, had time to reestablish their affairs. Magnus, at his election, was but three years old, so that the kingdom was necessarily committed to a regent; but this prince appears to have governed peaceably during twelve years, which followed the death of that minister.

(*s*) How destitute of trade Sweden in general must have been, appears from the extraordinary privileges granted by Gustavus Vasa to the traders of Lubeck; that they should pay no duties for commodities imported into Sweden, that they should enjoy a monopoly of its trade, and that they might trade at certain towns, not only with the citizens, but also with the peasants. *Sheridan*, p. 66.

(*t*) Three of the conditions which the Dalecarlians proposed to Gustavus Vasa, display at

once their independence, their superstition, and their simplicity : these were, that he should never pass the boundary of their province without giving them hostages for the security of their privileges ; that whoever should eat flesh on a fast-day, should be burned ; and that both the king and his courtiers should resume the old habit of Sweden, and never afterwards borrow new fashions from strangers. Ibid. p. 138.

(u) A residence of several months in Lubeck, during which he was soliciting this aid, afforded him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, the introduction and establishment of which he afterwards connected with the revolution of Sweden. Mallet, tome 5. p. 475.

LECTURE XXXVII.

Of the histories of the Turks and Persians, from the suppression of the caliphate in the year 1258, to the accession of Solymán I. to the throne of Turkey in the year 1520.

Mogul empire divided	1259
Ottoman government begun . .	1301
Ottomans invaded Europe . . .	1341
Bajazet overthrown by Tamerlane .	1402
Constantinople taken	1453
Persian dynasty of the Sophis . .	1499
Egypt reduced by the Ottomans .	1517

THE several Christian governments of modern Europe having been traced through the whole of the period which preceded the Reformation, it is now necessary to recur to the consideration of the eastern nations, with which this examination of the combinations of human policy was commenced. When these were before considered, I stopped at the time when the Tartar conquerors of the Arabs suppressed the priestly dominion, which under the name of

the caliphate had been established by the successors of the impostor of Arabia. I shall now resume from that time the consideration of their history, and continue it to the beginning of the reign of the Turkish emperor Solymán I, the contemporary of the German emperor Charles V. I began this course of lectures with enquiring, what was that external agency, which served to compress into political union the imperfect and ill-cohering members of an incipient system of policy ; and it is now proper to enquire, what was its operation as the system advanced towards its maturity, especially as the important crisis was approaching, in which a religious separation developed the principle of equilibrium among the Christian states.

The Arabs, and the Turks by whom they were followed, though they acted in succession as the compresses of the Christian states of Europe, constituted however powers differently characterized. The ardent enthusiasts of the Arabian empire, while by a fierce spirit of hostility they forced into some degree of union the alarmed governments of the southern countries of Europe, served also to convey to them the stores of science, to communicate the first inspirations of poetic composition, and to elevate into a more rapturous character the chivalry which was formed in the sober usages of the

west. The Tartar conquerors of the Arabian empire, sprung from a rude and northern region, were not qualified to exercise functions of refinement, but merely to continue the hostility which that empire had begun. The altered circumstances of Europe however no longer required that kind of assistance, which the peculiar qualities of the Arabians had enabled them to afford. The spirit of scientific enquiry had been sufficiently exerted, to require other information than oriental researches could supply: the poetry of modern Europe had been taught to lisp its earliest numbers, and was prepared for receiving the lessons of ancient composition, without losing the precious originality of inventive genius: and the chivalrous character of the west had been so perfected by the combination of Arabian enthusiasm with European sentiment, as to impress itself deeply in the features of the principal nations of the new system, and to transmit some of its more valuable peculiarities even to the age in which we live. Agents of another and a much inferior description were therefore at this time required for exercising on the European system that power of compression, which appears to have been in all cases necessary to the due formation of political order; agents fierce and hostile, disregarding the refinements of cultivated life, and

contemptuously rejecting the intercourses by which they might be communicated.

The peculiar functions of the Turkish government, however they may have required a people of inferior attainments, were yet in their season most important to the interests of Europe. When the nations of Christendom had been prepared for the study of ancient literature, and this literature was become specially necessary for that great revolution of religion, which was to distinguish the sixteenth century, the progress of the Turkish power, spreading from Asia to Europe, and overwhelming the ancient capital of the eastern empire and its remaining provinces, drove into the west the teachers of the language of Greece (*a*) with the precious reliques of its classic compositions. When Greece had thus ceased to be necessary to the new system of Europe, as a storehouse of that ancient refinement which might then after much preparation be advantageously received into Italy, and when the admission of such a country into the system would have embarrassed its operations, as it must have been superfluous to its combination, the conquest effected by a rude and unsocial people, separated it from all possibility of forming a connection with the European nations, and reserved it for a future period of more extensive and more complicated relations of policy. When too the age of distant

discovery was arrived, and it had become expedient that the commercial enterprise of Europe should be forced into a direction different from that in which it had been hitherto exerted, the same government, which had thus suppressed the surviving energies of Greece, and almost reduced it to a political non-existence, extended its barbarous dominion also over Egypt, and obstructing the communications by which the commerce of Europe was then chiefly maintained, assisted the determination by which it was at this time directed to the more adventurous navigation of the ocean.

We may indeed find a subject of interesting reflection in the differing circumstances of the barbarian nations, which acted in successive periods of time on the people of the west. In the fifth century the nations of Germany began the formation of the modern manners and the policy of Europe; in the eighth and many succeeding centuries the Arabians waged those hostilities, which, while they compressed the imperfect system into combination, conveyed to it various influences important to its improvement; and in the fifteenth, when the grand crisis of the religion, the policy, and the enterprise of Europe, was approaching, the Turks broke in on a different quarter, and made those impressions on the western system, which were then most accommodated to its interests. As these several

nations appear to have exercised distinct and peculiar functions, so had they been prepared for them in circumstances remarkably diversified. The chief of the northern nations, which were to be incorporated with the subjects of the ancient empire, to form with them new combinations of policy, had been previously trained to a sufficient degree of civilization by the intimate connection which had long subsisted between them and the empire, so that they entered it with an habitual reverence for its institutions : the Arabians, rude as they originally were, possessed however a language of extraordinary copiousness and refinement, and were actuated by an enthusiastic genius, not less fitted for the subtil researches of science, and for the rapturous flights of imagination, than for the heroic prosecution of military enterprise, and were thus qualified to improve, while they warred against the west : and lastly the Turks, neither partially civilized by a previous connection with the surviving empire of antiquity, nor animated by the ardent influences of the climates of the south, were that ferocious and bigoted class of invaders, which was fitted neither for uniting with the Christian nations, in the formation of a common system, nor for communicating to them any new elements of social improvement, whose office was only to crush or to dismember, whose power could be

beneficially exercised on their antagonists, only as a strong principle of repulsion is exerted in the combinations of the material world.

The empire of the Mogul Tartars, which had been formed by Ghingis-khan, suppressed in the year 1258 the caliphate of Bagdad, and closed the series of the successors of Mahomet. That empire was however transient as a meteor in the history of nations, for in * the very year following the conquest of Bagdad and the suppression of the caliphate, a disputed succession induced Cublai the rightful heir to gratify (b) three great leaders, by acknowledging their authority over considerable states, subject only to an admission of his own supreme dominion ; and at the death of this emperor, which occurred in the year 1292, even this pretension was disregarded, and the great vassals became wholly independent. Of these new sovereigns, Holagou, the conqueror of Bagdad, became lord of a very extensive sovereignty, which comprehended (c) the central countries of the greater with the whole of the lesser Asia. The monarchy of the Seljukian Turks, which in the time of the Crusades had occupied the lesser Asia, was † at this time divided among numerous chieftains, who all acknowledged the supremacy of the khan of Persia. Over these

* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 307.

† Abulgasi-Bayadur-khan, p. 384, 385.

contending nobles a salutary control was for some time exercised by the khan; but this control was withdrawn just when the Ottoman power began to be formed among the ruins of the Seljukian monarchy, and it has been remarked by the historian of the Roman Empire,* that the decline of the Mogul dominion of central Asia served to allow free room for its construction. The great empire formed by Ghingis appears thus to have been an intermediate arrangement, which formed a transition from the Arabic empire of Persia to the Ottoman dominion of the lesser Asia. The empire of Ghingis speedily suppressed that of the Arabians, and was itself immediately afterwards dismembered: the southern government which was thus separated from the rest, served to preserve some degree of order among the Seljukian chiefs its vassals: and in the year 1304, at which time the Ottoman government had begun to be formed, this detached portion of the Mogul dominion also sunk into weakness and decay, and left the Ottomans free to pursue the path of power. It will soon be seen that the dominion, which was still for some years retained by the khan of Persia, formed the matrix of a new government, which was afterwards established in that country.

* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 309. 310.

The Ottoman government cannot be considered as commencing earlier than the year 1301, the first year of the reign of Othman its founder ; but its beginning is by the historian of the Roman Empire referred rather to the year 1326, in which that prince possessed himself of Prusa the capital of Bithynia. When the violence of the hostility of Ghingis-khan had subsided, * many of the provincial governors of the Persian territory assumed independence, and among these Aladin the (*d*) sultan of Iconium, a lordship in the lesser Asia. The father of Othman, the leader of (*e*) a tribe of Turks which had migrated from the borders of the Caspian sea, having entered into the service of this prince, the son acquired such a sway, that † when Aladin had been driven from his principality by an irruption of another tribe of Tartars, he was in the beginning of the year 1301 established in the dignity of sultan. As ‡ the name of Turk had fallen into disrepute, having been contemptuously applied by the Persians to tribes much inferior to themselves in the beauty of their persons, the new sultan ordained that it should thenceforward be limited to the peasants, and that his immediate followers should from himself be denominated Ottomans.

* Cantemir, pref. de l'Auteur, &c. p. lii. † Ibid. tome 1. p. 31. ‡ Ibid. pref. de l'Auteur, p. lii, et tome 1. p. 33.

The new government was * subjected to that discipline of rivalry, which is the general principle of excitement to the efforts of nations. Caramanogli, one of those Persian satraps, who like Aladin had shaken off the yoke of dependence, became the founder of a government, which comprehended the ancient Galatia, from him named Carimania. This government, the most powerful after that of Iconium, was constantly opposed to that of the Ottomans, which had been formed out of the principality of Aladin, and accordingly served to restrain its efforts until it was itself overpowered by the same Mahomet, who became the conqueror of Constantinople, and established in Europe the seat of the Ottoman government.

The long course of discipline, by which the Ottomans were thus trained for their destination in the grand system of society, seems to have left traces which are still visible in their manners, amidst all the degeneracy of their present condition, for the manners of the Turks are at this day those of a camp, though they have long lost the subordination and the regularity of soldiers. It has been observed by † Busbequius, who in the sixteenth century was a curious witness of their greatest prosperity,

* Cantemir, pref. de l'Auteur, p. lxxviii, tome 1. p. 186.

† A. Gialenii Busbequii Ep. p. 27, 28. Lug. Bat. 1633.

that their indifference to the elegancies, and even to the accommodations of the architectural art, must be ascribed to the habits of a roving and military life. The same cause has probably contributed its share of influence to render them insensible to other refinements, as well as to those of architecture, and to fix them in a permanent and unalterable barbarism. How striking in these respects is the contrast between them and the Mahometans of Arabia! The latter, who had advanced in a rapid and almost unresisted career of conquest to the establishment of an empire of extraordinary magnitude, soon became not less distinguished by commercial and literary eminence, than by the surprising successes of their arms: the former, proceeding slowly through an obstructed course, were necessarily disposed to retain in their prosperity the habits which had been formed in the long series of efforts to acquire it; and when conquerors of the very country, which had been the peculiar seat of genius, looked on its venerable monuments of art and intellect almost with the same rude indifference, which might be expected of a horde just issuing from the wilds of Tartary. Some difference indeed must perhaps in any circumstances have continued to subsist between the descendants of nations formed in climates so different, and the commercial situation of the

Arabian peninsula had probably impressed its character on the tribes, which rushed forth from it to spread over the earth the dominion of the Koran; but some portion also of the distinction, by which the Turks are so degraded in the comparison with the southern Mahometans, appears to have arisen from the rudeness of a long protracted warfare, and of (f) a gradually migratory government.

The interval between the elevation of Othman and the reduction of Constantinople was a period of one hundred and fifty-two years, of which the century beginning from the former event was filled by a series of princes of extraordinary ability, well qualified to extend and consolidate the new dominion. The victorious Othman, who began this series, proceeded systematically in the work of conquest. * Instead of abandoning himself to an unrestrained ambition, he checked himself from time to time in his successes, that he might have leisure for establishing order and tranquillity in his provinces, before he should seek to enlarge his territory by new acquisitions. In this progress of conquest he first reduced almost the whole of the ancient Bithynia, and he afterwards extended his dominion over a great number of the cities in the other parts of the lesser Asia. This beautiful peninsula, which in an early age

* Cantemir, tome 1. p. 37.

had begun the refinement of the Greeks, and had afterwards been the scene of much of the preaching of the apostles, and of the seven churches addressed in the Apocalypse, was destined thus in the fourteenth century to be the birth-place of an empire of barbarism, which should inflict a painful, though a necessary discipline, on the nations of Christendom.

Othman, after a brilliant reign of twenty-five years, was succeeded by his son Orchan, who was distinguished by various endowments, though especially remarkable for valour. The reign of this prince is * the epoch of the institutions of the Ottoman government. Appointing his brother to be his lieutenant in all the concerns of his administration, he thus instituted the office of grand visir. He then formed the military system of the Turks, by introducing the use of engines for besieging towns, and enrolling a body of infantry, to which he allowed a regular pay; his infantry he further improved by composing it of the sons of Christians educated in the Mahometan religion, having found it refractory as it was originally composed of Turkish peasantry. He was at the same time an encourager of religion, and a patron of learning. Having established the seat of his government in Prusa or Byrsa, a city of Bithynia, which province he completely reduced, he

* Cantemir, tome 1. p. 67, 68.

^founded there a mosque, an hospital, and an academy ; and * we are told that the academy became so distinguished, that it was frequented by students from Persia and Arabia. Nor was the extension of his empire interrupted by this attention to the interior concerns of the government. When he had first by his arms reduced the Greeks of Asia, he then by force or address caused his sovereignty to be acknowledged by many Moslem princes, who had possessed themselves of various provinces ; and when his dominion was thus at length extended to the shore of the strait which separates Asia from Europe, † the dissensions of the Grecian court afforded in the year 1341 an occasion for an army of Turks to effect their first passage into Europe, as the friends of one of the contending parties. Orchan was, after a reign of thirty-five years, succeeded by his son Amurath, who also inherited his virtues. The new sultan immediately directed his attention to Europe, where the dominion of the Turks began then to be considerable. In his reign the institution of the (*g*) Janizaries, which had been begun by his father, was completed, every fifth captive being reserved for the service of the sultan ; and the corps thus constituted performed the most im-

* Cantemir, tome 1, p. 71.

† Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 315.

portant services : the fame of the Turkish arms was immediately exalted to a very high degree ; and even in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman soldiery was by * Busbèquius considered as superior to that of western Europe, though † at the present day the once celebrated Janizaries are but an irregular and contemptible body. By such a soldiery, ‡ at the end of forty-five years from the first invasion of Europe, the power of the Ottomans was established throughout almost all Macedonia and Albania. The empire was indeed soon afterwards relieved by his death from the formidable activity of Amurath ; but this prince was succeeded by his son Bajazet, who was the fourth in a succession of heroes.

Bajazet ascended the throne in the year 1390, § at which time the Grecian empire was almost reduced to the capital. He did not however immediately prosecute the great enterprise of subduing the declining empire : the earlier years of his reign were employed in other expeditions both in Asia and in Europe, nor did he before the year 1395 encamp under the walls of Constantinople. Then indeed the period of the duration of the Greek empire appeared to have arrived : but it was

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* Epistolæ, p. 174—177.
p. xxlii, 306. Lond. 1771.

† Observations on the Turks,

† Cantemir, tome 1. p. 100.

§ Burigny, tome 3. p. 72.

otherwise decreed by the divine providence, and a double agency was employed to arrest its apparent destiny, and to procure for it a delay of ruin during fifty-eight years. When * the sultan was now posted before the capital, and ready to rush upon his prey, the policy of the grand visir represented to him that it would be wise to think of securing the internal tranquillity of his extensive dominions, before they should be augmented by additional conquests; and that it would be dangerous to provoke a combination among the powers of Christendom, who could not behold with indifference the loss of their common bulwark. The sultan yielded to his admonitions, and consented to grant a truce of ten years, on condition of receiving an annual tribute, and of certain concessions by which the authority, and even the religion of the Ottoman government, was recognised within the walls of Constantinople. Before this disgraceful truce had expired (*h*) another agent interposed for the protection of the imperial city; a new and formidable conqueror arrested the career of Bajazet, and overwhelmed him with unlooked for ruin. In the second year of the fifteenth century † Temurleng or Tamerlane arrived in the lesser Asia from the banks of the Ganges, to chastise the ambition

* Cantemir, tome 1. p. 144, &c.

† Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 342, &c.

of Bajazet, and in a bloody engagement overthrew the sultan, and took him prisoner.

At the first view * this extraordinary revolution appears to defy all reasoning about political combinations. That the Ottoman government should during a whole century have made a regular and rapid progress towards the subversion of the Greek empire, and that when this empire was only awaiting the pleasure of an overpowering enemy, the consummation of this great enterprise should have been suddenly postponed for fifty years by the unexpected intervention of an extraordinary personage, who was himself snatched away by death within three years, leaving the government which he had subdued to the son of him whom he had vanquished, seems to be, perhaps more than any other events in the history of nations, a fortuitous concurrence of events, destitute of all relation to any common result. A nearer consideration will probably however convince you, that this first impression is caused only by the extent of the combination, the events which appear totally unconnected, being in truth united, though in very comprehensive, and therefore not easily discoverable relations.

In Tamerlane then we see, not merely the conqueror of Bajazet, and the protector of the

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* Cantemir, pref. du Trad. p. xxiv.

sinking empire of Greece, but the eventual restorer of the empire of Persia. Another Tartar conqueror, Ghingis-khan, had soon after the beginning of the thirteenth century assailed that empire, which was overthrown by his successor at the end of forty years, when its ruins were left to furnish the materials of the empire of the Ottomans. The interval between the reduction of Bagdad and the fall of Bajazet, an interval of sixty-four years, was the period of the formation and growth of that monarchy; and when this power had been sufficiently matured, and was evidently adequate to the functions of an independent and even predominating government, the balance of the political system required the restoration of that Persian empire, out of which it had been formed. Had the Persian empire not been restored, the Ottoman power, when established in Europe, would have pressed with too steady a force on the system of the west, and have ruined it, instead of merely exciting the active principles of its combinations. It is well known that the Turks were in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (*i*) most formidable to the governments of Christendom; and the importance of the dread of the Persian empire, as a restraint of their enterprises, has been (*k*) distinctly stated by Busbequius, who had been deputed from Vienna to endeavour to negotiate an accommodation,

and when he had during eight years suffered all the indignity of personal restrictions, was well satisfied with obtaining * a truce of as many years, even on the dishonourable condition of paying to the Turks an annual tribute of thirty thousand ducats of Hungary. It was the conjecture of Newton that comets, coming from distances exceeding the dimensions of the solar system, and intersecting in their rapid courses the planetary orbits, served to diffuse from their prodigious exhalations the renovating principles of fertility and life. The two great Tartar conquerors may be regarded as comets of the political world. Issuing from wilds which lay beyond the combinations of policy, they rushed through the civilized nations with resistless impetuosity; and while they bore down the opposition of their corrupted and decaying institutions, left behind them those energies of moral action, which assisted in forming new and more vigorous governments.

It should not however be supposed, that the ravages of these two extraordinary conquerors did not any where terminate in permanent establishments of the dominion of the Moguls. From the central regions of Asia indeed their sovereignty was speedily withdrawn, and the new monarchy of Persia estab-

* Busbecq. p. 360, 454.

lished in its place ; but it was otherwise with the two distant regions of China and Hindostan, the former of which has never entered into relations of policy with other nations, and the latter could not yet be considered as involved in their combinations. By Ghingis and his successors China was gradually subdued, and * the Tartar dynasty begun, which was established in the government of the whole of that immense country about the year 1279, but was expelled by the native Chinese in the year 1367, or one hundred and forty years after the death of Ghingis. As this chieftain was the founder of the Chinese empire of the Moguls, so was Tamerlane that of the Mogul dominion of Hindostan, which however both acquired for its chief the title of the Great Mogul, while the original horde was lost in its native Tartary, and also had the fortune of a much longer duration, having subsisted in vigour to the death of Aurengzebe in the year 1707, and in some degree (*l*) even to the year 1788, or (*m*) two hundred and sixty-two from the actual commencement of the Mogul dynasty of that country.

If however we confine our view for the present to the fortunes of the Greek empire, the violent irruption of Tamerlane may be regarded as the arrangement, by which a balance was

* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 297, 307.

prepared for the growing power of the Ottomans; and the interval of time required for the growth of the new power of the Persians indicates the bearing of the interruption of that of the former people. If the restored empire of Persia were to be ready for balancing that of the Ottomans, it was necessary that the commencement of its restoration should precede by an interval of some length the time of the full establishment of that other power, and consequently that the violences by which that restoration should be prepared, should break in upon the regular progress of the aggrandizement of the Ottoman government.

The seeds of political disunion of the Turks and Persians had been sown almost from the commencement of the Mahometan religion, or more than eight centuries before the reestablishment of the Persian government. * Two political parties had been early formed among the followers of Mahomet, the one of which was attached to the family of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the impostor, and the other was opposed to its pretensions. The party of the followers of Ali did not however become considerable in Persia until the year 933, or during about three centuries from the death of Mahomet; at that time, when the caliphate was sinking in decay, and various independent

* Vol. 1. p. 256, 257.

princes were partitioning the Arabian empire, the native dynasty of the Bowides, which established itself in that country, embraced the party of Ali, probably * because its founder bore the same name. As the Turkish dynasties, which were also established within the empire, adopted the contrary party, that mutual animosity of the Turks and Persians was even then begun, which after the lapse of five hundred and sixty-six years had its full manifestation in the modern government of the latter people. Though however the followers of Ali are detested as heretics by the Turks with such fervor of abomination, that, according to † Can-temir, they consider it equally meritorious to kill one Persian as to destroy seventy Christians, it does not appear that the two parties differed in any other particulars, than the antiquated question of the right of Ali to succeed to the caliphate, and a ridiculous disagreement about (n) ablution.

When Tamerlane was returning from the defeat of Bajazet ‡ he gave thirty thousand captives to Sudder-u-deen, in testimony of his veneration for this Persian, who had acquired the reputation of a saint, and had asked their release, when required to say what favour the

* Herbelot, art. *Buiah*. † Tome 2. p. 160.

‡ Hist. of the Late Revolutions of Persia, vol. 1. p. 5, 6. Lond. 1749.

conqueror could bestow as a mark of his veneration. The captives thus emancipated became the devoted disciples of him to whom they were indebted for their liberty, and their descendants at the end of a century placed one of his family on the throne of his country. Ismail, the first prince of the dynasty, which from the first of this series of devotees was denominated Suffaveah, and the princes of which have been styled (*o*) sophis, commenced his reign in the year 1502. The slow formation of this government however corresponds to the view which has been given of the political relation of the new government. If the Persian empire be regarded as constituting the counterpoise of that of the Ottomans, when the latter should have been established in Europe, it could not be necessary that it should be completed before the close of that century, after the middle of which the reduction of the Greek capital had been effected; an earlier settlement of the Persian government might have embarrassed and obstructed that enterprise; and though the victorious Othmans proceeded before that time to prosecute their aggressions against the nations of Christendom, yet Persia was even then able to compel them to desist.

The great defeat of Bajazet was followed by a period of eleven years, during which the distresses of the Ottoman empire were aggravated

by the contests of two of his sons ; and * all historians agree, that, if the Christian princes had known how to avail themselves of its disorders, this government would either have been totally destroyed, or at least have been driven out of Europe : but the circumstances of Christendom disqualified it for any such exertion ; and Mahomet I, who was then placed upon the throne, reestablished the dominion of his family. After this interruption we again observe a series of heroic and successful emperors on the throne of the Ottomans, and their dominion, which had been checked and thrown back by the irruption of Tamerlane, resumed its advances towards the subjugation of the Greek empire.

Mahomet I, after a reign of nearly nine years, distinguished by the institutions of peace not less than by the achievements of war, was succeeded by his son Amurath II, who in a reign of thirty-six years exhibited every quality which could adorn a sovereign. While Amurath embraced every opportunity of encouraging the useful arts, he was successful in every military enterprise, except in his attack of Belgrade the bulwark of Hungary and of the west : in his faithful observance of treaties too he exhibited an example which shamed the Christians, for though the Roman pontiff had

* Cantemir, tome 1, p. 235.

authorized the king of Hungary to renew the war in violation of a solemn engagement, Amurath* honourably observed the treaty which he had concluded with the emperor. Amurath II. died in the year 1451; and in the third year of the reign of his son and successor Mahomet II. a period was put to the lingering agony of the Greek empire by (*p*) the reduction of the capital. A circumstance connected with this important event deserves to be noticed, as it may serve to show how much the great issues of political enterprises are influenced by contingencies. † On the day following the capture of Constantinople twenty-nine gallees arrived from the west for its relief; and since the Turks on a mere rumour of this armament had deliberated about raising the siege, it may be concluded that, if it had arrived before the reduction of the city, the enterprise would have been immediately abandoned.

When the Latins, in those expeditions which had been undertaken for the purpose of assisting the Christians of the eastern empire to repress the formidable power of the Turks, had possessed themselves of the capital and the territory of their allies, the spirit of that empire still subsisted in three establishments of its fugitives, two of which also assumed the title of imperial dignity; in these it was preserved for

* Burigny, tome 3. p. 106.] † Ibid p. 132, 133.

the temporary restoration of the fallen dominion, and for delivering it at no distant period into the hands of its Mahometan enemies. The possession of the Latins, continued during fifty-seven years, was sufficient for communicating to the western Europeans some admiration at least of the arts of a more civilized people, and connecting their trading nations with the commerce of the eastern capital : but if it had been protracted to the time of the Turkish conquest, without any intervening reestablishment of the former empire, it could have served only to engage them in a renewed struggle with the infidels for a territory which they must have been unable effectually to defend, and which, if it could have been protected, must have been superfluous and embarrassing to the rising system of the west. Between the expulsion of the Latins and the Turkish conquest of Constantinople an interval was accordingly interposed by the reestablishment of the Greek empire ; nor was this interval, which extended to one hundred and ninety-two years, longer than was expedient for the improvement of the western states. While the empire of the Latins subsisted, they were yet too barbarous for attaining to more than an admiration of the refinement which had been treasured in the city of Constantine, and it was necessary that much time should yet elapse before the literary stores

of that ancient capital could be valued even in Italy. The time thus required for transmitting the refinement of Greece was furnished by the lingering existence of the restored empire, while the alarming dangers to which it was constantly exposed, served to overcome the resentment which would else have alienated the Greeks from all communication with the Latins. As the Turks slowly pressed onward to the conquest, which should establish them within the limits of Europe, the Greeks could discover no hope of relief but in the succours of the western Christians; the most urgent solicitations were accordingly employed with even a repeated proposal, though perhaps a fallacious and certainly an impracticable one, of surrendering (*q*) the distinctive character and the independence of the Grecian church; and during these apprehensions and negotiations a sufficient interval of time was allowed for the removal both of the teachers and of the literature of Greece from that country into Italy, which had (*r*) then been prepared for their reception by the gradual progress of its own improvement, and especially by the genius of its distinguished triumvirate, Dante, Petrarca, and Boccacio.

When the throne of Constantinople had been seized by the Latins, two distinct principalities were formed in the neighbouring country of

Asia, each of which, though of very limited dimensions, assumed the title of empire. Theodore Lascaris, * who had married the daughter of the emperor Alexius, collected from the ruin of his country a party of the more resolute and adventurous, and soliciting the alliance of the Turkish sultan, established himself in Nice, and at length comprehended within his dominion the whole territory which extended from the Mæander to the suburbs of Constantinople. About the same time † the grandson of another emperor, who by the indulgence of a succeeding dynasty, had been appointed governor or duke of Trebizond, availed himself of the public confusion to usurp the sovereignty of that place, and reigned in peace, though without changing his title, from Sinope to the Phasis along the coast of the Black Sea; his grandson however, not content with independence, assumed like Theodore the imperial dignity. In ‡ Europe also an independent principality was founded by an illegitimate member of this other family of emperors, who established himself in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly, but contented himself with the appellation of despot. These three governments will be found on examination to have been connected either with the restoration

* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 181, 182.

† Ibid. p. 182.

‡ Ibid. p. 183.

of the Greek empire, or with the events which after its restoration preserved it in distinctness from the western Christians, and thus abandoned it to the arms of the Turks.

The exiled empire of Nice was that which furnished the immediate agency in the reestablishment of the Greek empire. Michael Palæologus, who had been recently advanced to the throne of Nice in prejudice of the lineal heir, displayed, as the historian of the Roman empire * has remarked, the virtues and vices of the founder of a new dynasty, and with the assistance of the Genoese, who were jealous of the influence of their Venetian rivals with the Latin masters of Constantinople, effected the restoration of his original country. The change of dynasty had however another, and an important influence, beyond that of infusing a portion of vigour into the recovered dominion. The † new emperor was soon excommunicated by the patriarch for the cruelty with which he had blinded the young prince whose throne he had usurped ; and though at the end of six years the penitent sovereign was restored to the rights of religious communion, yet the spirit of the patriarch survived in a powerful party of the monks and clergy, who persevered above forty-eight years in a schism occasioned

* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 203, 204.

† Ibid p. 235.

by the degradation and banishment of their unbending chief. As the protracted, though finally unsuccessful negotiations, for effecting a union of the Greek with the Latin Church, in the design of procuring the assistance of the western Europeans, formed the medium of communication by which the knowledge of the Grecian language and literature was transmitted to the Italians, so the impediments by which these negotiations were protracted, were important to the arrangements of this period of the history of the eastern empire. The temporary dominion of the Latins had * indeed contributed much to the separation of the two churches, by leaving a lasting alienation which rankled in the hearts of the emancipated Greeks ; but this was maintained by the subsequent struggles of political and ecclesiastical parties : and as this alienation was the cause which so lengthened the negotiations that (s) three emperors judged it necessary to go to Italy in their search for assistance, so did it, by rendering them finally abortive, preserve that distinctness of the eastern empire, which detached it from western Europe, as superfluous to the growing system of policy, and left it to be crushed under the power of the Ottomans.

The advancement of Michael Palæologus to

† Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 207.

the throne of Nice, and the excommunication by which his usurpation was chastised, constituted however but a part of the arrangements, which maintained among the Greeks a spirit of ecclesiastical separation ; the remainder we may discover in the diminutive and distant empire of Trebizond, and in the independent principality formed in Epirus and the adjacent provinces. The empire of Trebizond * furnished another line of imperial princes, which supported in Greece the interest opposed to that of the reigning family, received from the other empire of Nice ; and the principality, though at this time subjected to the throne of Constantinople, still maintained so much of the character of its temporary independence, that it protected the hostile synods of the fugitive monks and bishops, who resisted the wishes of their sovereign. In these circumstances the chief concerns of the state were accordingly the choice of the patriarch and his management of (t) the church ; but these were concerns most intimately connected with the transmission of the Greek literature to western Europe, because necessarily involved in negotiations with the court of Rome. One great struggle indeed had a different and important bearing. The dynasty of the Palæologi

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* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 241.

was in the year 1341 compelled to share its power for a time with a noble named Cantacuzene, too powerful to remain in the subordination of a subject, from which intrusion it was relieved in the year 1355 by the forced abdication of the new usurper : and the struggle afforded the memorable occasion * of introducing into Europe the Ottomans, who at the close of another century possessed themselves of the eastern empire. The emperor and his rival contended alike for the favour of the common enemy, which was however gained by the address of Cantacuzene, who even gave his daughter in marriage to the infidel prince.

At this time we find † two emperors and three empresses on the throne of Constantinople. The usurper was indeed forced to abdicate, but the government was incapable of resuming tranquillity and vigour. The empire was ‡ at this time contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black-Sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth ; even this little district it was found necessary to divide for the purpose of satisfying the various individuals of the reigning family, so that two emperors reigned together over little more than the capital. So dependent was this feeble remnant of a state, that

* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 318.

† Ibid. p. 274.

‡ Ibid. p. 328.

one of the two emperors, with a hundred of the noblest Greeks, was forced to obey a peremptory order, requiring them to serve in the wars of the Turkish sultan; and that an attempt to fortify Constantinople was at his desire instantly countermanded ; and in the beginning of the fifteenth century the empire was indebted for the prolongation of its existence during fifty years, not to any internal resources which it still possessed, not (*u*) to any support received from the other Christian states of Europe, but to the seasonable interposition of a Tartar conqueror, Tamerlane, who crushed for a time the power by which it was almost overwhelmed.

In the combinations of remote and dissimilar causes it is curious to observe that, as the irruption of a barbarian proceeding from the wilds of Tartary arrested and suspended the assault of the Ottomans, which at length accomplished the destruction of the Grecian empire, so more than a century before that unexpected interposition, had the same empire been rescued from the ambition of a European prince, by an event intimately connected with the relations of the system then rising in the west. When Charles of Anjou had in the year 1266 possessed himself of the throne of the two Sicilies, the conquest of the feeble empire of Greece was a natural object of hi

wishes, and he actually engaged in the enterprise with (v) a considerable force : from this project however, which would have inconveniently brought Greece within the policy of western Europe, he was recalled by the revolution begun with the Sicilian Vespers, while the Greek emperor * assisted with his treasures so favourable a diversion : and thus the same causes which reduced the power of Charles to a degree corresponding to the general interest of the western system, and formed a balance of strength between the two crowns of Naples and of Sicily, served at the same time to throw off from the system the decaying empire of Greece, and leave it for the future victories of the Ottomans.

Of the whole period of the history of the Ottoman government, which I consider in this lecture, the interval between the elevation of Othman in the year 1301 and the accession of Solyman I. in the year 1520, one hundred and fifty-two years, were preparatory to the subversion of the Greek empire ; the remaining sixty-seven were employed in the extension and establishment of the dominion of its conquerors. This latter portion was occupied by three reigns, those of Mahomet II. who effected the conquest, of Bajazet II. and Selim I. ; all worthy

* Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 246.

successors of those earlier princes, who had created and formed this victorious empire.

Mahomet II, in a reign of thirty years, continued a career of success begun with such a brilliant achievement as the capture of the Grecian capital. Like his father Amurath he failed indeed before Belgrade, but in every other quarter victory attended his arms. All the continental provinces of the Greek empire with two of the principal islands either submitted voluntarily, or were reduced by arms ; Caramania, which had ever checked the power of the Ottomans, was by this prince entirely subdued ; the Genoese were driven out of (w) the Tauric Chersonesus, which was annexed to the dominions of the Turks ; and considerable successes were obtained in a war, in which the Persians had been the aggressors. The ambition of the Turkish prince, inflamed by such a series of triumphs, was then directed to the attack of the Christians of the west, and a considerable fleet was sent in the year 1480 to the invasion of Italy. Here we first discover the importance of the restoration of the Persian government. The Turkish commander * landed in the southern part of Italy, ravaged the adjacent country, and took some fortresses ; but in the middle of his successes was unavoidably recalled to oppose the hostilities of this rival

* Cantemir, tome 2. p. 29.

power then rising in the east. These hostilities Mahomet effectually repressed, and was preparing to subjugate the power by which they had been waged, when death arrested his course, and transferred the empire to his son Bajazet II.

The character of Bajazet, which was comparatively pacific, appears to have been necessary for moderating that rage of conquest, which, if unrestrained, would have carried the Ottoman government beyond those limits, within which alone its successes could be subordinate to a scheme of general improvement. His milder temper was in some degree displayed in the very commencement of his reign, for contrary to the representations of his ministers he prosecuted a plan which he had previously conceived, of performing a pilgrimage to Mecca. His reign however, though not so brilliant as that of his predecessor, was by no means passed in inactivity. By him * was begun the contest with the sovereign of Egypt, which was terminated by his successor in the subjugation of that country; and † the measures which he adopted for restraining the Circassians, deprived the Egyptians of that continued supply of slaves, which, under the well-known name of Mamelukes, constituted their

* Cantemir, tome 2. p. 92.

† Ibid, p. 92.

military strength. He was * during sixteen year successful in various enterprises ; but † having during the ten succeeding years indulged himself in the repose which had been procured by so many victories, he disgusted the active spirits of his subjects, and while he was taking measures for resigning the empire to his eldest son, was deposed by his second son Selim, by whose order he was soon afterwards assassinated when he had reigned thirty-two years.

Selim I. who ascended the throne in the year 1512, completed the dominion of the Turks by the reduction of Egypt and Syria. It is remarkable that though the conquest of Egypt, effected in the year 1517, was the great achievement of his reign, his ambition had been, like that of Mahomet II. directed to the conquest of Persia, and was diverted to that of Egypt by some contingent events. ‡ The kings of Persia and Egypt were indeed both objects of his jealousy ; the latter however he was afraid of attacking until he should have secured himself in the prosecution of this enterprise by vanquishing the former. In the war undertaken with this view against Persia § he was during three years continually successful ; and at length, when he had begun to aspire to the conquest of the country, the sultan of

* Cantemir, tome 2. p. 91—98.

† Ibid. p. 99, &c.

‡ Ibid. p. 176.

§ Ibid. p. 191.

Egypt offered his assistance : but this incident, which seemed to promise entire success, eventually rescued Persia, and caused the subjection of Egypt, with that of its dependent territory of Syria ; for an act of violence committed by the Egyptian soldiery gave offence to Selim, and determined him to direct against his new auxiliaries the whole force of his fury. The glory of Selim was completed * by the voluntary submission of Mecca, the centre of the religious veneration of all the followers of Mahomet. His ambition was then again directed to the acquisition of Persia, but † in this project, which seemed to require only to be vigorously attempted, he was baffled as the conqueror of Constantinople had been before in a similar enterprise. The stroke of death had arrested Mahomet II, when the pride of victory was impelling him to attempt the subjugation of the Persian empire ; and the same observation may be made of Selim I, who ‡ in one year had added more to the Ottoman territory than any of his predecessors. Inflamed with success he bound himself by an oath to overturn this rival dominion, and to exterminate this nation of schismatics, after which he concluded that he might without difficulty subdue the Christian powers. During two seasons he found his finances too much

* Cantemir, tome 2. p. 207.

† Ibid. p. 209—211

‡ Ibid. p. 207.

exhausted for attempting the performance of his vow ; and a period was then put to all his enterprises by an imposthume, which proved mortal. The reduction of Egypt and Syria perfected the combinations by which the ancient intercourse with India was embarrassed, and the spirit of European adventure was driven into the ocean : but the subjugation of Persia would have destroyed the countercheck of the Turkish power, which was necessary to the protection of the western countries of Europe.

Such were the origin and establishment of a government, which appears to have been an important agent in the formation of the system of Europe, and to have been well adapted to its destination. Though the Ottomans had been a tribe of Tartars who * were distinguished by their veneration of illustrious families, yet, probably in consequence of that long series of military discipline, which must have transformed them into a society of military adventurers, they † became totally indifferent to the claims of ancestry, and thus were directly contrasted to the feudal nations of the west, to which they were opposed. It is deserving of attention, that this very contrast had been (*x*) alleged by Busbequius, as the circumstance which gave in his time a decisive superiority to the Turk-

* Cantemir, tome 2. p. 145. † Busbequius, 160, 161.

ish arms. The energies of a military nation were then, as in our own time, exalted by the abolition of distinctions, which must tend to repress the ardour of enterprise, though in seasons of tranquillity they have been found to be indispensable to the existence of a free and orderly government. From this we may derive another peculiarity, by which the Turkish government was also distinguished from those of western Europe. Duelling, which, however indefensible in principle, grew out of the manners of European society, was * reprobated in the Ottoman empire. The enemies of their religion were the only legitimate object of the fury of the Turks ; and where all distinctions emanated only from the pleasure of the sovereign, no principle of personal honour could prompt to a vindictive indulgence of personal animosity. But it has been remarked † by an English ambassador, in opposition to Dr. Robertson, that the government of Turkey must not for various reasons be considered as a simple despotism. That government, he observes, cannot be regarded as a simple and absolute despotism, which is habitually regulated by a written code of laws, ascertaining the duties, and binding the conduct both of the prince and the people ; nor was this code abandoned

* Bush. p. 200, 201. Cantemir, tome 2. p. 167.

† Observations on the Turks, xiv. &c.

to the veneration with which the devout Mus-
sulman would reverence its injunctions, but its
authority was supported by the Oulamâh, or
body of the church and law, the chief order of
which, the Moulahs, are hereditary, and with-
out its concurrence no important act of state
can be performed, nor even a criminal ordered
for execution : (*y*) the standing army too of
that empire was but an inconsiderable propor-
tion of the national force, and the control of
the sovereignty by no means absolute even in re-
gard to that portion of the troops ; these howe-
ver, it is mentioned by this writer, have been
altogether different from the Prætorian bands
of imperial Rome, and had never in any in-
stance, except when they were instigated by
the body of the law, proceeded to the deposi-
tion of a single sovereign. Thus destitute of
the principle of personal honour, and ignorant
of all hereditary pretensions, the Ottomans
looked only to their chief for distinction, while
the whole nation, though acting under his single
direction, was however restrained and regu-
lated, in common with their sovereign, by the
authority of the injunctions of their religion.
Such a government was well fitted to make an
alarming impression on the feudal establish-
ments of Christian Europe, but it was also
fitted, when this impression had been sufficient-
ly made, to remain stationary, or even to be-

come retrograde, while these were advancing in improvement, and thus to become comparatively feeble and unimportant, when its activity was no longer expedient.

If from the political we turn to the intellectual view of the Turkish character, we shall also observe particularities deserving attention. The infancy of this nation is not marked by such barbarity as has stigmatized the earlier history of the Saracens: on the contrary the immediate successor of Othman was distinguished by an anxious desire to establish seminaries of learning throughout his territory, and prince Cantemir * has remarked that, when the career of conquest had been suspended, and the Turkish sovereigns had begun to enjoy tranquillity, the ancient rudeness of the national manners entirely disappeared, and the arts of peace, more especially music, were cultivated with success. We have been also informed † by the English ambassador already quoted, that the Turks had the entire systems both of the Aristotelian and Epicurean philosophy translated into their language, though the latter was more generally adopted, as being most accommodated to present enjoyment. ‡ The study of the law was however that which principally attracted the attention of the Turks.

* Tome 2. p. 237. † Observations on the Turks, p. 39.

‡ Cantemir, tome 2. p. 126.

The political importance of the Oulemâh, naturally cooperated with religious considerations to direct the enquiries of the Turks to the code of their prophet; while those military habits, which the original circumstances of the nation had rendered inveterate, necessarily alienated them from researches of a merely speculative nature. Painting was specially proscribed by their religion, in its abhorrence of idolatrous representations, and the exercise of this art was accordingly confined within very narrow limitations: it was permitted (x) to delineate only the hands and the feet of their prophet, and even the portraits of the sultans were preserved only in the library of the palace. Busbequius * speaks of the Turks as in his time, or in the sixteenth century, generally well disposed to adopt the usages of other nations; but says that they would not admit the typographical art, because their sacred writings would have ceased to be writings, nor public clocks, because they would infringe the authority of some ancient usages: for the opposition made to the introduction of printing, at least in later times, another cause has been assigned, the present interest of a numerous class of persons employed in transcription.

The Turks thus appear from the beginning to have acquired from the cultivated Saracens

* P. 214, 215.

and Greeks the first rudiments of literature and taste, but never to have aspired to any eminence of attainments. Not actuated by the fanaticism of the Arabians, they did not barbarously reject the first opportunities of improvement ; but less favoured by nature with the gifts of genius, neither did they seek to crown their successful fortune with the elegance of intellectual refinement : we find among the early sovereigns of the Turks no such character as the Arabian caliph, who saw no necessity for any other book than the Koran ; but when these northern Mahometans became possessed of Greece, they did not catch the enthusiasm of literature from its sacred relics, as the Arabs had been inflamed by the inferior elegance of the Persians. The destination of the Turks was however merely political, and to this their character was adjusted. The Saracens had already transmitted knowledge to the West, and the system of Europe at this time required only to be compressed and consolidated by the aggressions of a nation of soldiers, who might drive before them the refinement still treasured in the eastern empire.

The character of retired sanctity which had distinguished the ancestors of Ismail, the first prince of the restored kingdom of Persia, had been gradually converted into one of political enterprise, as the donation of Tamerlane had

given them importance, and this importance had excited jealousy and hostility in the Tartar rulers of the country.* The dissensions of these chieftains, who had risen to power on the ruins of the family of Tamerlane, had during a distracted period of twenty-six years prepared the way for the establishment of a new dynasty; Ismael, at the age of fourteen, availed himself of the favourable opportunity for beginning his military operations at the head of the adherents of his family; and in the year 1502, not four years from the first effort of his arms, the youthful adventurer was the acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom of Persia. The advancement of this prince was favoured by other circumstances besides the public disorder of the country. Not having been born the chief of a tribe, he was not to other tribes an object of jealousy; and the character of sanctity which his family had acquired, had procured for them almost universal veneration. The more celebrated of the ancestors of Ismael, who were souffees or philosophical deists, had however chosen, as an object more comprehensible to their adherents, to attach themselves to the sect of Ali, from whom they claimed to have descended, and whose wrongs had formed an early division among the followers of Mahomet. The principle of separation, thus adopted to strengthen a party, be-

* Sir J. Malcolm, vol. i. p. 494, &c.

came by the advancement of Ismail the characteristic of the nation which he governed; and as in western Europe the opposition of the Protestant and Roman Catholic governments became in a later period the original principle of political equilibrium, so was there at this time formed a balance between the two Mahometan governments by the contention about the right of succession among the earlier caliphs. And here we discover the importance of the suppression of the caliphate, which had been effected by the Tartars in the year 1258. If the succession of the caliphs had been still continued in Bagdad, and the acknowledged head of the common religion had thus resided within the territory of one of the two governments, it would have been impossible that this balance could have been supported on a principle of religion, because there would not have been in this case, as in the separation of the two aggregates of the Christian governments of Europe, a distinct principle of doctrine by which they might be placed in opposition. Resting on an appeal to the genuine scriptures of the Christian revelation, the Protestants might disregard the pretensions of Rome to an ecclesiastical supremacy; but the Turks, whose code of doctrine did not direct their views to a spiritual kingdom, must have been forced to submit to the claims of Bagdad,

if the succession of the caliphs had been continued without interruption. As this centre of religious union had however been destroyed by the suppression of the caliphate, the two Mahometan governments might be divided on so slight a question as the right of a caliph, who had died eight centuries before, especially as * the distinction had been cherished from age to age, and had acquired additional importance in the decline of the ecclesiastical sovereignty.

The history of Ismail, the founder of the new kingdom of Persia, may be briefly told. Of the † seventeen years of his reign nine appear to have been employed in extending and securing his dominion in some of the provinces of Persia, and repressing the Usbeg Tartars, who struggled for the possession of Khorassan, the north-eastern district. He was then involved in a contest with the Turkish emperor Selim I, who invaded his kingdom; from him he sustained a complete defeat, probably on account of the artillery and military science which Selim must have received from the Europeans; but that prince having been by want of supplies compelled to withdraw his troops, and having afterwards directed his efforts against the Egyptians and Circassians, Is-

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* Vol. 1. p. 256, 257. † Malcolm, vol. 1. p. 503—505.

mail was left at liberty to add Georgia to his territories. Ismael died in the year 1523, three years after the death of Selim I, who by the reduction of Syria and Egypt had completed the empire of Turkey (*aa*).

(*a*) It has been recently ascertained that no ancient manuscripts have been preserved in the libraries of European Turkey, as had been hoped by the learned. The result of the researches of Mr. Carlyle and Dr. Hunt, made in the year 1799, in the most favourable circumstances, was that the monasteries of the sea of Marmora did not contain a single classical fragment ; that in the collegiate-house of the Greek patriarch at Constantinople there were a few detached fragments of some of the Greek classics ; that in the rooms attached to the mosque of Saint Sophia, the libraries of the seraglio, and those belonging to the schools, mosques, and colleges of dervises at Constantinople, not a single classical fragment of a Greek or Latin author, either original or translated, was to be found ; and that in those of the monasteries of Mount Athos, the great supports of the religion of the Greeks, no unedited fragment of any classical author was ever

discovered. Walpole's *Memoirs of Turkey*, p. 84, 220. Lond. 1817. One hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are indeed said to have disappeared in the pillage of Constantinople; and ten volumes, it is added, might have been purchased for a single ducat, which price included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer. *Decline and Fall*, &c. vol. 6. p. 505. The price here mentioned, low as it was, proves however that even in this scene of terror and confusion there were persons desirous of preserving the treasures of ancient science and literature; and much had been already saved by those Greeks, who had retired into Italy.

(b) On this occasion Cublai or Cuplai ceded to one prince all the territory of the Moguls which lay beyond the river Amn, to another Kipzack, and to a third the country between the Altai mountains and the Amu, or those regions which are now distinguished by the names of Great Bucharia, Charass'm, and Turkestan, with the western part of the territory of the Calmucks. The posterity of Cublai continued to reign in China, of which he had completed the conquest; and when, at the end of one hundred and forty years, the Tartars were expelled from that country, they probably reigned afterwards over those who retired to the shore of the sea of Japan, as these continued to have khans.

Abulg. Bayadur-khan, with the notes of the transl. p. 384, 385. The Tartars were driven from China for having endeavoured to introduce the worship of the Lamas, to which they had attached themselves. Ibid. p. 404, note.

(c) Ben Schonah has enumerated the states, which Holagou bequeathed to his son. They consisted of the great province named Khorasan, the capital of which was Nischabour; the Persian Irak, the country of the Parthians, the capital of which was Ispahan; Adherbigian or Media, the capital of which was Tabriz or Tauris; Persia properly so called, the capital of which was Schiraz; Khourestan or Khouzistan, the ancient Susiana, the capital of which was Toster or Shuster, anciently Susa; Diarbekir, containing a part of Assyria or Curdistan, and also Mesopotamia, the capital of which was Moussal or Mosul, built near the site of the ancient Nineveh; and the country of Roum, or of the Greeks, which comprehended Armenia, Georgia, and the lessér Asia, the capital of which was Conia, the ancient city of Iconium in Capadocia. Herbelot, art. *Holagu*.

(d) The title of solthan or sultan was first invented for Mahmood of Ghizni, who reigned about the end of the tenth century. It was invented by the ambassador of the caliph, who chose to employ a word common to the Ara-

bian and the Chaldaic language, signifying *lord* and *master*. The title previously used was that of emir or commander. Ibid. art. *Solthan*.

(e) Of the Oguzians, the most noble of the Scythian tribes. Cantemir, tome 1. p. 12.

(f) The first capital of Othman was Carachisar; thence he removed the seat of government to Yenghischehri: Orchan his successor established his residence in Prusa; and after a hundred and twenty-five years, in which Adrianople was a secondary capital, Constantinople became the metropolis of the empire.

(g) Named by the Turks Ienitcheri, or *new troops*. Herbelot, art. *Ienitcheri*.

(h) These conditions were that the Ottomans should have liberty to build in Constantinople a mosque and a court of justice, and to have a cady, who should have power to decide any litigation, which might arise there between two Mahometans, a reciprocal privilege of the same kind being allowed to the Christians in Adrianople; a contention between a Christian and a Mahometan was in Constantinople to be referred to the patriarch, in Adrianople to the ecclesiastical judge of the Mahometans. Cantemir, tome 1. p. 148.

(i) Quæ cogitantem horror corripit, quid postremo futurum sit, cum hanc nostram ra-

tionem cum eorum comparo, superare alteros, alteros interire necesse est; ambo certe incolumes esse non possumus. Ab illâ parte stant immensæ imperii opes, vires integræ, armorum usus et exercitatio, miles veteranus, victoriarum assiduitas, laborum patientia, concordia, ordo, disciplina, frugalitas, vigilantia: ab hac nostrâ, publica egestas, privatus luxus, diminutæ vires, fracti animi, laboris et armorum insolentia, contumaces milites, duces avari, disciplinæ contemptus, licentia, temeritas, ebrietas, crapula; quodque est pessimum, illis vincere, nobis vinci solitum. Busb. p. 174.

(k) Unus modo Persa intercedit, quem ad nos festinans hostis respicere cogitur, sed is moram adfert, non salutem. Hoc composito, cum totius orientis viribus in nostras cervices ingruet, quam paratos non audeo dicere. Ibid.

(l) "Aurungzeb, who died in the year 1707, left the richest and most powerful empire in the world, to be rent asunder and convulsed to its very centre by the ambitious contentions of his surviving offspring." Maurice's Mod. Hist. of Hindostan, vol. 2. part 2. p. 285. In the year 1788 Shah Aulum was dethroned and blinded by two rebel chiefs, who had confederated for the purpose. From this catastrophe Mr. Maurice has dated the virtual extinction of the Mogul dynasty. Ibid. suppl. p. 626—636. The empire of Aurungzeb had reached

from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and nearly as far in longitude, and had produced a revenue exceeding thirty-two millions of pounds sterling : it was at this time reduced to one ruined city, Delhi, with a scanty surrounding district, and a few lacks of rupees allowed for the subsistence of the emperor by a vassal chief. Sir J. Malcolm indeed remarks, that “ a pageant, supported by the British nation, still sits upon a throne at Delhi ; and we view in him the gradual decline of human greatness, and wonder at the state to which a few centuries have reduced the lineal descendants of the great Timour.” *Hist of Persia*, vol. 1. p. 484, 485.

(*m*) The commencement of the Mogul dynasty of India followed the invasion of Tamerlane at an interval of one hundred and twenty-seven years. Tamerlane in the years 1398 and 1399 subdued India, and returned to Samarcund. Ulugh Beg, his grandson, devoted himself to the arts of peace ; he assembled all the astronomers of his kingdom, and the celebrated tables, which are distinguished by his name, were the result of their labours. Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane in the fifth generation, after maintaining a long and glorious struggle against Shahibeg, khan of the Usbeg Tartars, the enemy and conqueror of his family, retreated into India, where his great qualities obtained

him one of the most splendid empires in the world. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 471, 472, 488, 489. Baber began his march for India in the year 1519, and in the year 1525 advanced into that country, the conquest of which he completed in the following year. Maurice, vol. 2. part 1, p. 90, &c. "The profound veneration of the Hindoos for their own peculiar civil institutions, the solemn rites of national religion, whose deep foundation his sanguinary executions could never shake, the extensive power which the Afghan tribes still retained in India, and the wide domain possessed by the independent rajahs, all forbid the idea of any permanent Tartar establishment in that country from the rapid invasion of Timour." Ibid. p. 44. Khondemir, the celebrated Persian historian, was a subject of the last except one of the successors of Tamerlane in his Tartar empire. The son of that prince was compelled by the victorious Usbegs to seek refuge with Shah Ismail, who had already established his power in the eastern parts of Persia; he was then settled at Tabreez, and when the Ottoman emperor Selim took that city, he was sent to Constantinople, where he died. Hist. of Persia, vol. 1. p. 489, 490.

(n) The Turks, says Cantemir, are no sooner out of bed, than they consider themselves obliged by the law, before they begin their prayer, to wash their feet, and to rub them

with the hand before they put on their slippers : the Persians on the contrary maintain, that it is sufficient to rub the feet with the naked hand without washing them. Tome 2. p. 159, 160.

(o) Sir J. Malcolm appears to conceive that the title of *sophi*, commonly given to the princes of this dynasty, was derived from *sooffee*, the appellation of a philosophical devotee, which seems to have been particularly applied to the first distinguished person of the family, Suffee-u-deen, both *sooffee* and *suffee* being derived from the same root *suffâ*, which signifies *clean* or *pure*. Hist. of Persia, vol. 1. p. 495, 496. Herbelot derives the word from the Grecian term signifying *a wise man*. Art. *Sofi*.

(p) This great catastrophe occurred in the year 1453. It may be deemed deserving of attention that an event, which inflicted such a blow on the idolatrous form of Christianity, in the very church in which it had originated, followed at an interval of 666 years that second council of Nice, in which the worship of images was triumphantly established by the influence of the empress Irene. It was the opinion of Sir I. Newton, that the second beast of the Apocalypse designated the Greek church, as the former one represented the church of Rome. Observ. upon the Proph. of Daniel and the Apoc. p. 283. Lond. 1783. He indeed

adopted the conjecture suggested by Irenæus, in explaining the number 666 to designate the name *Lateinos* by the value of its numerical letters. Bish. Newton's Dissert. vol. 2. p. 298. Lond. 1789. This conjecture does not however agree well to the church of Greece; and though the bishop has shown, that it was not unusual to denote names in this manner by numbers, it seems more natural to explain the number by a computation of time, especially as the expression *it is the number of a man* has been by himself interpreted to mean a method of numbering practised among men, and may therefore be aptly applied to the ordinary computation of years, as they are distinguished from those named prophetic years, which are understood to consist of three hundred and sixty days. A reason may even be assigned, why ordinary, and not prophetic years, should have been mentioned in the passage, considered as a prediction of a certain period of time. The number of ordinary years was itself a remarkable one, and it could not be designated in the prophetic manner by months of thirty days, as is done in the other numerical prophecy of the same book, the number 666 not being a multiple of 30. It must indeed be admitted, that the actual meeting of the second council of Nice occurred on the twenty-fourth day of September, whereas the reduction of Constantinople was effected on

the twenty-ninth day of May, so that six hundred and sixty-six years were not completed in the interval; but the edict summoning the council had been issued in May, and the cause of image-worship may be considered as having been from that time triumphant. The argument is strengthened by this consideration, that the prophecy itself speaks of making and worshipping an image. This is an interpretation which could not occur to Irenæus, who lived in the second century. The attempt is one, which the prophet himself has encouraged us to make: *let him, says he, that hath understanding count the number of the beast.*

(q) The separation of the Greek and Latin churches, which originated in national jealousy, received a distinctive character in the seventh century, when the eighth council of Toledo determined that the Holy Spirit should be believed to have proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father. The creed framed in the council of Nice had been directed so exclusively to the condemnation of the doctrine of Arius, that in regard to the third person of the trinity it contained only this declaration, "(we believe) also in the Holy Ghost." Socratis Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 8. This part of the creed appeared afterwards to require to be rendered more particular, and for maintaining the dignity of the second person the expression

"and from the son" was introduced in the year 653 by the Spanish council. The causes which particularly alienated the Spanish Christians from the Arian opinions, have been already specified, vol. 2. p. 529, &c. Among these was the conversion of the Arian Goths; and it is observable that this event was immediately followed by the addition, which has been mentioned as made to the original creed of Nice. Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 3. p. 551. The other distinctions of the two churches, for the Greek church peremptorily refused to acknowledge the alteration thus made by a Latin council, related to purgatory, the supremacy of the pope, the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, and transubstantiation; as they were stated in the council of Florence, when an attempt was made to effect an union. Carranza, p. 618.

(r) "We may tremble," says the historian of the Roman empire, "at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism; that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds, before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation." Vol. 6. p. 417. A valuable testimony of the moral government of the world.

(s) John Palæologus in the year 1369, Ma-

nuel in the year 1400, and John Palæologus II. in the year 1437.

(*t*) Of the state of that church a judgment may be formed from the miserable dispute, by which it was occupied about a century before the reduction of Constantinople, concerning the light manifested to the disciples of our Saviour in the transfiguration on Mount Thabor. The question had arisen from a strange and visionary persuasion, which had prevailed among the monks of Mount Athos at least from the eleventh century, that by persevering in an abstracted contemplation of the middle of the belly, the region of the navel, they could attain to a perception of a mystic and ethereal light. When they were pressed by Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, about the nature of this light, they maintained it to be the same manifestation of the divine nature, which had been vouchsafed to the disciples on Mount Thabor. It was then denied by this adversary, that the light of Mount Thabor was eternal; but a synod of the Greek church, in which the emperor Cantacuzene presided, established as an article of faith the belief of the uncreated light of Mount Thabor. *Decline and Fall*, &c. vol. 6. p. 278. Such a church demanded to be suppressed. The imagination of the Greeks appears to have been too active, to permit that Christianity should continue to sub-

sist in prosperity among them. The religion of the western church also was indeed grievously corrupted; but its corruptions were rather of a political and moral nature, from which it might be recovered by the sound sense and moral feeling, which still existed among them. As the minds of the Greeks were more active than those of the Latins, so was it sooner in the Grecian than in the Latin church judged necessary to prohibit the scriptures to the laity, this having been done in the former so early as the ninth century, but in the latter not until the year 1229, when such a determination was formed by a council assembled at Toulouse. Hallam, vol. 2. p. 528, 536.

(u) The schism of the west, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the western nations from the relief of the Greeks. The Italians were even tempted by a present interest to serve the common enemy of their religion; a colony of Genoese in particular, settled on the Ionian coast, were bribed by a lucrative monopoly of alum. Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 6. p. 368.

(v) It consisted of ten thousand men at arms, a numerous body of infantry, and a fleet of more than three hundred ships and transports. Ibid. p. 245.

(w) He found there in the year 1471 Mongily Gierai, descended from the Coptchak

princes, whom he made khan of the Crimea. Cantemir, tome 2. p. 27. The Turks at pleasure deposed the khan of the Crimea, but chose his successor from the same family. In the year 1774 the Crimean Tartars became independent of the Turks by the interposition of the Russians, and in 1783 they fell under the power of the latter. According to the common opinion of the Turks there were two principal branches of the Oguzian tribe, that of the Othomans, and that of the Alijenghizians, and from the latter the khans of the Crimea are believed to have descended in an uninterrupted series. A law was accordingly established by the Ottoman sultans, that if their race should become extinct, a successor should be chosen from that other family. Ibid. pref. xcii.

(*x*) Sic eâ in gente dignitates, honores, magistratus, virtutum et meritum præmia sunt: improbitas, ignavia, inertia, nullo honore pensantur, jacent, contemnunturque. Ergo illi rebus gestis florent, dominantur, imperii fines quotidie proferunt: apud nos aliis vivitur moribus, virtuti nihil est relictum loci: omnia natalibus deferuntur; opinione natalium omnes honoris aditus occupantur. Busbeq. p. 100.

(*y*) The Persians are not equally scrupulous, but place portraits, not only of Mahomet, but of other prophets and of their emperors, at

the head of their historical compositions. In Turkey no portraits are allowed except those of the sultans. Cantemir, tome 2. p. 255, 256.

(x) Bulgaria and Walachia had been detached from the Greek empire by a revolt in the year 1186, when they had been subject to it more than one hundred and seventy years. Decline and Fall, vol. 6. p. 191. When the Greek emperor of Nice meditated to overthrow the Latin dynasty of Constantinople, he saw the necessity of repressing the people of these provinces, who might naturally be disposed to resist the reestablishment of the Greeks; he accordingly employed his arms in wresting from the Bulgarians the strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace, and confining their kingdom on the south to the vicinity of the Danube. Ibid. p. 202. In this condition Bulgaria remained more than a hundred years; but in the year 1366 the Greek emperor was assisted by the sultan of the Ottomans in reducing the Bulgarians, and the Walachians were rendered tributary by Mahomet I. in the year 1418. Cantemir, tome 1. p. 98, 216. To these provinces was added Moldavia in the year 1529. Since the Ottomans became masters of the Greek empire, these dependencies have served as a frontier to separate European Turkey from Hungary, Poland, and Russia, and also to obstruct a communication between the first of

these countries and the Black Sea, which might have weakened the relations connecting it with the German empire, or interfered with the circumstances of Turkey. Of the other European dependencies Servia was reduced by the Ottomans about the year 1440, Illyria in the year 1462, Albania in the year 1465, Bosnia and Croatia in the year 1489. Cantemir.

(aa) The Mufti however, or chief of this body, may now, says Cantemir, who wrote about the beginning of the last century, be deposed by the sultan, if his sentence should be disagreeable; and if he should be deemed guilty of any considerable offence, may be brayed to death in a mortar kept for this purpose. Tome 1. p. 115.

(bb) Bajazet was the first of the Ottoman princes, who constructed a fleet of ships of war. He built three hundred, with which he might have aspired to the dominion of the sea, if he had not been checked by Tamerlane. Ibid. p. 153.

LECTURE XXXVII.

View of the history of commerce, from the commencement of the fourteenth century to the peace of Noyon concluded in the year 1516.

IN a * former lecture I reviewed the history of commerce from the termination of the western empire in the fifth to the commencement of the fourteenth century : in the present I propose to continue the consideration of it to the beginning of the sixteenth, at which time the two great discoveries, that of a naval communication with the East Indies, and that of the existence of a western continent, changed almost at once the face of the commercial world, and constituted the epoch of its more modern history.

At the close of the thirteenth century the principal object in the commercial arrangements of Europe was the Hanseatic Confederacy, the commencement of which is referred to the year 1241. This extended association of trading cities connected into one system all the commerce of Europe, maintaining a direct communication between the Rhine and the Baltic, and

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a circuitous one between the trading towns of Italy and the same sea, the latter communication at the same time supporting the industry and wealth of the Netherlands, since on account of the imperfect state of navigation it was found necessary to use the ports of Flanders, especially Bruges, as intermediate stations. Of the wealth accumulated at this time in Bruges a remarkable anecdote * has been recorded by the historian of the Netherlands. Philip the Fair, king of France, having visited this city with his queen in the first year of the fourteenth century, the latter astonished at the magnificence of the ladies exclaimed, that she had thought she was the only queen there, but that she had found more than six hundred queens besides herself.

The history of the commerce of the Netherlands seems to deserve particular attention, as they have been in several periods the conduit of traffic to the great trading establishments of western Europe. The progress of commerce has, in the lecture to which I have already alluded, been traced from Italy through the Netherlands to the Hanseatic towns of Germany: the exportation of wool from England to the Netherlands, for the use of the great manufactories established there almost since the

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* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 144.

middle of the tenth century, at first enriched our sister-country with a trading capital, and afterwards gave occasion to the introduction of the important manufacture of woollen cloth : and it will hereafter be seen, that the extraordinary prosperity of the Dutch republic was derived from the same central stream of industry and riches. Flowing from Italy, the grand source of all the various improvement of art as of literature, it diffused its fertilizing principle through all the countries which were fitted to receive it, and thus prepared them for that abundant growth of activity and wealth, which has since been spread over the world by a restless spirit of commercial adventure.

The introduction * of the first and most important manufacture, that of woollen cloth, into England, was the work of Edward III, who began his reign in the year 1327, and was occasioned by his observation of the extraordinary wealth, which the people of the Netherlands derived from their employment of a material principally supplied by his kingdom. But though much of the advantage of this valuable acquisition may thus be ascribed to the enlightened patriotism of this celebrated prince, the way was prepared for it by the circumstances of the manufactures of the continent. The woollen manufacture, which had been first es-

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 161.

established in Flanders about the year 960, began about the commencement of the fourteenth century to experience the abuses of a monopolising spirit; and the result of the struggles and tumults to which these gave occasion, was that many of the manufacturers, about the year 1331, fled from their own country to England, where they obtained such privileges, as encouraged them to resume their occupation. Thus the dispersion of the artists, and the consequent diffusion of the art, may be regarded as the results of a natural and regular process, the industry of manufacturers generating wealth, this wealth generating an eager desire of securing an exclusive possession of the manufacture, and the efforts of a restrictive spirit, so inconsistent with the true principles of commercial prosperity, counteracting and frustrating its own purposes, and driving to other countries the very art which it endeavoured to monopolise. The same series of causes and effects, the last part only excepted, was afterwards observable in England itself; and its exemption from this ultimate mischief appears to have been one of the many advantages of its insular situation, which permitted manufacturing industry to seek in the villages a retreat from the oppressions of the incorporated towns, without incurring the danger of exposure to foreign aggression. When a considerable number of the Flemish artisans

were thus driven from their homes, the determination of a part of them to settle in England, was the natural consequence of the commercial connection long subsisting between the two countries, the manufacturer naturally seeking the country of the material of his manufacture. The wisdom of Edward indeed was shown in the promptitude, with which he availed himself of these favourable circumstances; but the regular series of events presented him with the opportunity of procuring for his country a great commercial benefit, and in his conduct we observe only the policy of a prince adapted to his actual situation.

So rapid was the progress of the manufacture in its new country, that * in the year 1347, or within sixteen years from the introduction of the Flemings, we find a duty on exported cloth already established; the cloth however so exported was only of the coarser kinds, and the English long continued to procure from the Netherlands the finer fabrics. At length, in the year 1399, the manufacture having been brought to a considerable degree of perfection, the importation of all foreign cloth was prohibited; but long after this time dispensations from this prohibition were occasionally granted, according to the political connections existing between the English and

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 177.

the people of the Netherlands. Before this time however Ireland had * become celebrated even in Florence for her manufacture of her "noble" serges, which were probably superior to those at present used, as they are described to have been even among the Italians an article of female dress. This curious fact has been fully ascertained by the late earl of Charlemont, who has quoted in proof of it a passage of an old Italian poem, entitled *Dit-tamondi*, and written by Fazio delli Uberti, a nobleman of Florence, who seems to have composed it in the year 1357, or at least not more than six years afterwards. Indeed it appears from a fact quoted by the earl of Charlemont from Madox's history of the Exchequer, that Irish cloth was known in England in the reign of Henry III; and from a testimony quoted by him from Anderson's history of commerce, that by the last statute of Edward III. it was enacted that Irish frizes should not be subjected to any duty on importation into England. The trade of the woollen manufacture was continued too with Italy, at least to the close of the following century, and extended to other fabrics besides serges; for the earl has quoted from Rimer's *Fœdera* a license granted to an agent of the Pope in the year 1482, for exporting into Italy certain com-

* Vol. 3. p. 190, 191.

modities without paying custom, among which are mentioned five mantles of Irish cloth, one lined with green, one russet garment lined with Irish cloth. The woollen manufacture of Ireland may indeed have been derived from Italy, as that of England was from the Netherlands; and the earl was even disposed to conjecture that Edward III. may have laboured to establish the manufacture among his English subjects in competition with a trade then extensively maintained by the Irish. The testimony of the Florentine poet forbids us to believe, that the people of this island were then too barbarous for such a traffic, for he (*a*) has told us that, though they might seem savage, they were sweet to those who tried them.

While the Netherlands were the great scene of manufacturing industry, the Hanseatic cities were the principal managers of the commercial concerns of Europe. * The Hanseatic cities, not being conveniently situated for procuring materials, could not engage in manufactures; but their association furnished them with the means of conducting the interchange of the bulky necessities of the north, and the more luxurious accommodations of the south and east. Their prosperity established on such a foundation was however necessarily transient, for a maritime country, which is possessed of

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 255.

manufactures, will naturally become commercial, and unavoidably acquire in this other department of industry an ascendancy over one which is destitute of such means of supplying the objects of traffic. Accordingly we find * that from about the commencement of the fifteenth century the Netherlands began to rival the Hanseatic cities in commerce, partly indeed by the advantage of possessing the woollen manufactures, and partly also by that of possessing the art of pickling herrings, invented or at least improved by a Fleming, who died in the year 1397. This superiority of the Netherlands, derived as it was in part from the trade of herrings, was connected with a remarkable fact in the natural history of Europe, the removal of the great shoal of herrings from one shore to another. This shoal † had frequented the southern shore of the Baltic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, thence it removed first to the shores of Denmark and Norway, and in the year 1394 to that of Britain; a considerable quantity of herrings however still resorted to the Baltic in the year 1417, though the supply had begun to fail so many years before. It must not indeed be conceived that the great manufactures of Europe were confined to the Netherlands; ‡ almost all the richer

* Anderson, vol. 1, 221, 230. † Ibid. p. 152, 210, 244.

‡ Ibid. p. 306.

manufactures with which Europe was then supplied, were the productions of Italy, the country in which this species of industry had first been revived; and * even the wool of England was partly conveyed to Venice, Florence, and Genoa.

The † historian of the Hanseatic league has marked the year 1370 as the time of its most considerable aggrandisement. It then comprehended sixty-four cities actually members of the confederacy, besides forty-four others which were its allies, but not subject to the ordinary and annual contributions; and at length most of the chief trading cities of Europe entered into its alliance for the reciprocal protection of commerce. The greatest prosperity of this celebrated league was however soon followed by the commencement of its humiliation. ‡ About the year 1403 the king of Denmark, assisted by a naval force belonging to the Netherlands, obtained some decisive advantages over the Hanseatics, who had almost engrossed the commerce of the Baltic; and the people of the Netherlands from this time gained ground so fast upon the Hanseatics, that within little more than a century they had actually acquired an ascendancy in the trade of the Baltic.

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 188, 240, 264, 292.
200, &c.

† Ibid. p. 230.
‡ Ibid. p. 230.

The greatest prosperity of the Netherlands was nearly a century later than that of the Hanseatic league, * the year 1467 having been that in which they lost their prince, Philip duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good. At this time these provinces were a match for France, weakened as this country had been by its wars with England, and by its own internal divisions; but the rashness of the succeeding prince, Charles the Bold, engaging him in expensive wars, a system of oppressive taxation was adopted, which gradually impaired the prosperity of the Netherlands. It has been observed that the aggrandisement of these provinces had been much assisted by a natural event, the migration of the great shoal which supplied the herring fishery; another, and a more extraordinary event of a natural kind, which occurred in the fifteenth century, had an important connection with those later changes, which gave their whole commerce to the Dutch. † About the beginning of the fifteenth century an inundation of the sea formed a communication between the ocean and a lake, which has since been denominated the Zuyder Zee, or South Sea, and thus rendered Amsterdam a seaport. The removal of the herring-shoal, which happened about the same time, gave the people of this city, thus unexpectedly favoured with a

* Anderson, vol. 1, p. 282.

† Ibid. p. 247, 261.

maritime communication, an opportunity of providing a necessary article of supply for the cities of the Baltic, in addition to the salt which they were also enabled to furnish; and by the possession of these two important objects of commerce they were enabled to acquire a considerable portion of the commerce of that sea. Bruges in Flanders continued however long after this time to be the great central emporium of the northern and southern trades, until * about the year 1487 an outrageous insurrection caused the emperor to attack this city with the assistance of Antwerp and Amsterdam, which were jealous of its commercial superiority: at that time indeed the greater part of the trade of Bruges was removed to Antwerp, † which had become considerable about forty years before, and but a small portion to Amsterdam, which afterwards engrossed the trade both of Antwerp and of Bruges.

The ‡ trade of Europe with the east was in the fourteenth century divided between the Genoese and the Venetians. While the Latin empire of Constantinople subsisted, Venice enjoyed such advantages, as enabled her almost to monopolise this commerce, which has been in every age the grand source of opulence. The restoration of the Greek empire, effected

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 303. † Ibid. p. 347.

‡ Robertson's *Disquis.* p. 142, &c.]

in the year 1261 by the aid of Genoa, transferred these advantages to the rival city, and Venice was then compelled to seek at the ancient staples, of which Alexandria was the principal, an opportunity of maintaining her oriental traffic. The trade itself was of encreasing importance in the thirteenth century. A variety of causes had augmented the intercourse of the nations of Europe, and the Hanseatic league in particular formed a mercantile communication, by which the productions of Asia were extensively circulated through the west. The two commercial rivals thus constituted, in an age of encreasing activity of commerce, two distinct mediums for the intercourse of Europe with the east, Genoa trading with India by the Black-Sea, and Venice communicating with the same country through Egypt and Syria. The influence of the temporary establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople is discoverable, not only in the general extension of the Indian commerce in Europe, but also particularly in the formation of this twofold system, its establishment having afforded the Venetians a favourable opportunity for engaging largely in this valuable traffic, and its subversion, while it drove their industry to seek a new and more convenient channel, introducing the Genoese into the possession of their former advantages.

The Indian trade of Genoa long continued considerable, but at length that of Venice attained an ascendancy. * The first shock given to the prosperity of Genoa was occasioned by her own internal dissensions, in consequence of which, in the year 1353, it was found necessary to yield the sovereignty of the republic to the duke of Milan. † Twenty years however after this humiliation, Genoa was still able to effect the conquest of Cyprus, and even individual citizens about the same time engaged in hostilities with the Greek emperor and the emperor of Trebizond. The commencement of the declension of the Genoese, and of the ascendancy of the Venetians, is referred to the year 1379, when the former failed in an attempt to possess themselves of the capital of the latter. What this miscarriage began was completed by their internal dissensions, the republic being in the year 1396 necessitated to solicit the protection of the French government; and though this burthensome acquisition was after fifteen years relinquished by that power, the prosperity of Genoa was irrecoverably lost. She still indeed retained some degree of importance, and even maintained a long contest with the rival state; but the last battle was fought in the year 1431, at which time Genoa ceased to be at all a match for Venice. After the French had re-

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 185.

† Ibid. p. 203.

linquished the sovereignty of Genoa, it was recovered by the Milanese, and the Genoese even found it necessary to transfer various parts of their territories to their own bank of Saint George, for the purpose of procuring for them a more effectual protection than could be afforded by the state.

The remarkable contrast of the stability of the Venetian government and of the perpetual agitation of that of Genoa has been noticed in * a preceding lecture ; and it was then intimated that this diversity was accommodated to the different relations of the two republics. Venice has been constantly a necessary seaport of the commerce of Germany, and was in particular so intimately connected with the Hanseatic league, that Schmidt has dated the decline of the confederacy from the decay which this its emporium at length sustained. Genoa, on the other hand, had but temporary functions to discharge, and did not require a permanent independence : when this republic had acted as an exciting cause of the energies of Venice, and had served as an organ for the transmission of the spirit and industry of commerce from its early settlements in Italy to the neighbouring kingdom of France, it appears to have fulfilled the destinations of its independent existence ; its agitations then drove into

* Vol. 2. p. 312.

France its numerous exiles with their arts and their industry, and at length subjected the republic itself to the authority of that country.

About * the middle of the fifteenth century the oriental trade of Genoa, which had been begun by the restoration of the Greek empire effected in the year 1261, was totally destroyed by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople ; and Venice was left to enjoy this valuable commerce almost without a rival during the latter half of the century, until the circumnavigation of Africa proved as fatal to her prosperity, as the victory of the Turks had been to that of her rival. As the same causes which had rendered this trade progressive in the preceding century, continued to operate, the eastern commerce of Venice, though very inferior to the vastly extended traffic of more modern times, became very considerable ; it is therefore an object of curious consideration to ascertain how it was supported by that republic, since the management must have required peculiar resources or combinations. A satisfactory solution of this enquiry appears to have been furnished by † Dr. Robertson. The commerce of the east, it is well known, must be managed principally by an exportation of the precious metals, the fertility of the country, and the industry of its inhabitants,

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 121.

† Disquis. p. 159.

being almost independent of the productions of the other regions of the world. The great extension of this commerce must therefore have required a corresponding encrease of the supply of those precious metals, by which an intercourse of trade with such a country must be chiefly maintained, and yet the discovery of America had not then opened her new and inexhaustible treasuries. The augmentation seems to have been furnished by the nature of the communication which Venice had formed for herself with the east. The trade of Venice was not a direct one, like that of the ancient nations, which, being masters of Egypt, sailed thence to India in search of her commodities, or that of the more modern nations, which have enjoyed an uninterrupted communication with that country by sea : Venice, on the contrary, traded with Egypt, or with Syria, for the productions of India ; and as both of these countries, and especially Egypt, the chief mart of Indian goods, were destitute of many of the accommodations which European industry was able to supply, an opportunity was afforded of conducting much of the Indian trade by a barter of commodities. A regular supply of the precious metals was at all times furnished by the miners of Germany, discovered soon after the middle of the tenth century, and the intermediate commerce maintained with Egypt and

Syria hindered the extension of that of India from too much draining Europe of the necessary mediums of its commercial circulation. This indeed may be thought to have transferred the difficulty from the Venetians to the Egyptians with whom they traded ; it must however in so doing have had the operation of exercising their industry in procuring from other regions the additional supply of the precious metals, which had become necessary in the extension of the commerce with India.

It is interesting to observe how this considerable trade of the Venetians was gradually pressed and embarrassed by the growing power of the Turks, as that period was approaching in which the commercial system of the world was to be changed, and the ocean was to be opened to the enterprise of man ; and the observation will furnish a remarkable exemplification of the manner in which the most remote parts of this extensive and various system are mutually adjusted. The vicinity of the Turkish power began to be troublesome to the Venetians so early as the year 1419, when its conquests in Greece had been extended to the Adriatic sea, and consequently to the neighbourhood of some of the dependencies of Venice. When a period had been put to the Greek empire by the reduction of Constan-

* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 245.

tinople, the Venetians were speedily (*b*) stripped of their numerous possessions in the islands and the continent of Greece, and were compelled to pay an annual tribute for a permission to navigate the Black-Sea ; and about * twenty-one years after that event, when the Turks had become masters of the Crimea, and had finally driven the Genoese from the Black-Sea, they turned their arms against the Venetian territories on the eastern side of the Adriatic, and both at this time, and in the year 1481, possessed themselves of several places in those provinces. Thus, while the Portuguese were pushing their discoveries along the shore of the ocean, the Turks were repressing and reducing the great trading nation of the Mediterranean, taking from them one after another their transmarine dependencies, and obstructing in succession their several avenues of commerce. The commencement of the naval enterprises of the illustrious prince Henry of Portugal is referred to the year 1410, and the first collision of the Venetian and Turkish powers occurred in the year 1419 ; again in the year 1516, when the Portuguese had established themselves in India, and America had been discovered, the Turks effected the conquest of Egypt, and put an end to the

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* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 274

commercial connection which the Venetians had long maintained with the Mamalukes of that country. The Turks indeed, after the conquest of Egypt, united their efforts with those of the Venetians to oppose the Portuguese as the common enemies of both nations, but the commerce of Venice had in the mean time experienced irreparable injury, and their joint exertions served but to confirm the ascendancy of that of Portugal.

The trade of Venice however, though pressed by the Turks, was notwithstanding in a state of very great prosperity a very short time before this important revolution was effected. As long as the Mediterranean was the grand scene of commercial industry, Venice was of all cities the most fortunately situated,* placed as it was in the centre of the trading world, the sea entering into its streets, and the rivers which flow into that sea affording channels for the easy distribution of its merchandise. Genoa having sunk into decay, Venice at this time possessed the whole trade of the east, which was then in some particulars even more extended than at present, spices being then more generally consumed, sugar being imported (c) from Egypt, and pearls and precious stones being then exclusively oriental commodities. Nor was the wealth of Venice limited to that which foreign

* Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tome 2. p. 255, &c.

commerce might supply. The fertility of her territory furnished a surplus which was eagerly purchased by the inhabitants of the mountainous districts in her neighbourhood: her abundant salt-works gave her a supply of a very necessary article which (*d*) her power converted into a monopoly: and though the manufactures of wool also flourished in Florence, and had been introduced into the Netherlands and other countries, yet besides a considerable portion of this species of manufactures, those of a finer and richer description were still peculiarly her own; the manufacture of mirrors and other works of white glass, that of velvets and brocaded silks, and that of scarlet cloths, superior in their texture and their colour, were established only in Venice. Such were the resources of a traffic, which had drawn into Italy all the gold of Europe, and which (*e*) enabled the Venetian republic to expend in the memorable struggle of the league of Cambrai five millions of crowns of gold, a sum estimated by the historian to have been equivalent to ten millions of Spanish pistoles in the beginning of the eighteenth century. But it is a very curious fact, that all this commercial prosperity failed to generate a literary spirit among the Venetians. The Florentines were literary amidst manufacturing industry and (*f*) the occupations of commerce, be-

cause every intellectual faculty was excited to activity by the restlessness of a popular and unsettled government ; but the Venetians, under the tranquil administration of a jealous aristocracy, were dull amidst all their industry and opulence,* contented to seek a trading profit by publishing the works of others, but never contributing to encrease the stores of literature. Wealth may reward and encourage the efforts of genius, but political agitation furnishes its most powerful excitement.

The extraordinary prosperity of the Venetian republic was not suffered to continue so long, as to present any considerable impediment to the efforts which Portugal exerted to change the commercial relations of the world. In the year 1497 that enterprising people had opened a maritime communication with India, which the Venetian senate at once perceived to portend the ruin of that preeminence which themselves then enjoyed ; but in the year 1508 began the movements of the confederation formed at Cambrai to humble the pride of the commercial republic, and precisely during the war of eight years, which was the result of that confederation, the efforts of the Portuguese were crowned with success, and Venice was stripped of the commerce of the east. The

* Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. 1. p. 124.

league of Cambrai has been • already considered in its relation to the political interests of Europe, as it formed the transition by which the principles and habits of a federative policy, which had been devised by Lorenzo de Medici for the protection of Florence, were so extended as to comprehend within their operation all the principal governments of Europe. It now presents itself to us in another view, as constituting the crisis of the republic which had managed the commerce of the world under its earlier arrangements, and just at the time when another people was giving a beginning to other and more extended combinations, disabling it for offering any effectual opposition to a change so prejudicial to its own interests. We may justly admire such an adaptation of the political agencies of this interesting period to the production of two results so different as the extension of the newly invented system of a federative policy, and the seasonable depression of a government, which would have obstructed the extension of the commercial relations of the world. But our admiration must be much increased when we consider that these two results, so different in their own nature, and so destitute of all direct connection, appear yet to have been combined as parts of one comprehensive plan of the moral government of the world.

The federative system, which has been established in more modern ages, was a combination in which the influence of extended commerce and distant colonization was an important principle; and therefore that operation of the league of Cambrai, which facilitated the enterprises of the Portuguese, was indispensably necessary to the successful accomplishment of that other operation, by which it propagated from the petty states of Italy to the larger governments of Europe the relations of a federative policy. The schemes of human policy, like the little processes of human art, are adjusted only to the attainment of some single purposes; but the operations of the divine government, like those of the natural world, are comprehensive and various, and manifest the amplitude of the great Being by whom they are directed. The same ethereal fire, which wings in the heavens the lightning and the storm, supplies on the earth the pervading principle of activity and life: the same seas, which at once separate and combine the various regions of the world, furnish by their evaporations the copious streams which spread fertility and beauty over their surface: the same power which retains in their places our own and the surrounding bodies, heaves the tides of the ocean, controls the planetary motions, brings back the wandering comet from

his distance, and probably extends through all the splendid infinity of creation, which confounds the gaze of the astronomer.

To the war which humbled and enfeebled Venice, must be added as another cause reducing the commerce of the Mediterranean, and facilitating the formation of a new and more extended system of maritime intercourse, the establishment of the piratical states of Barbary, those hordes of authorized banditti, whose existence is indeed a disgrace to a period of civilization, but which yet have borne their unconscious part in the advancement of general improvement. The origin of these states (*g*) may be referred to the year 1499, when the king of Spain drove into Africa many thousands of his Moorish subjects. The exiled Moors, impelled at once by necessity and by revenge, were well disposed to practise piracy against the people from whom they had been expelled; the plunder of the riches of America, soon afterwards acquired by the Spaniards, rendered this practice particularly lucrative; and the habits of a piratical life, first contracted in these enterprises against the Christians of Spain, were afterwards indulged indiscriminately against all Christian nations navigating the Mediterranean. But * a corsair, surnamed Barbarossa from the colour of his

* Robertson's Charles 5. book 5.

beard, gave in the earlier part of the following century consistency and form to the first of the piratical communities, which during three centuries have bidden defiance to the order and industry of mankind. Having been in the year 1516 invited by a king of Algiers to give assistance in taking a fort, which the Spanish governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, he murdered the monarch, and took possession of his kingdom. Barbarossa was two years afterwards defeated and slain by a force despatched by the emperor Charles V. to enable the governor of Oran to punish his devastations; but his brother, favoured by the wars which occupied the European powers, established the order of the government, extended his territory, and placing his dominions under the protection of Turkey, received from the Grand Signior a body of Turkish soldiers sufficient for his security, and by the assistance of that empire was enabled in the year 1535 to possess himself of (h) Tunis, the most flourishing kingdom at that time on the coast of Africa. The hostile positions of Turkey were thus extended from the Black-Sea and the Adriatic to the strait of Gibraltar, every where presenting hostility to the states of Christendom, from the empire which it menaced in Hungary, to the traders who still

sought advantage in the ancient channels of commerce.

The Turkish dominions pressed indeed very closely on the Venetian republic in that part of the frontier which bordered the Adriatic, and as Istria and Dalmatia were reduced to a state of extreme barbarism, it may be worthy of some attention to consider how it happened that piratical states, much more formidable by their near vicinity, were not established in these provinces. A late traveller has remarked a peculiarity in their population, which appeared to him to have been the cause, why no such communities were formed there. He (*i*) has informed us that there are two classes of savage people in Dalmatia, which have never had any intercourse; and he has observed that it was fortunate for the Venetians that an union of them had never been effected, as the two would have constituted a more terrible nation of pirates in the Adriatic, than those of Algiers and Tripoli are in the Mediterranean. One of these tribes is composed of the original inhabitants, degraded into misery and savageness by the successive oppressions of the ancient and modern Italians, and of the Turks; of the other all that can now be collected is that it was a distinct nation, forced into this country by some unknown political event. It seems to have been unavoidable

that the frontier country, which lay between the western system of Europe and its Turkish antagonists, should be reduced to a deplorable state of barbarous weakness, for if it had enjoyed any degree of political prosperity, it must have possessed a corresponding degree of political strength, and consequently have exerted a disturbing influence on the general combination. But it is an extremely curious circumstance, that a country so situated should be inhabited by two distinct nations of barbarians, which should mutually counteract and neutralize their violence, and thus each hinder the other from becoming fatally injurious to their commercial neighbours. The general annoyance which the Venetians experienced from the pirates of Barbary, in common with the other traders of the Mediterranean, must have contributed to divert the spirit of mercantile adventure to the more distant enterprises of the ocean ; but a formidable nation of pirates established on the shore of the Adriatic, would have wholly annihilated, instead of merely repressing the commerce of Venice, and would thus have destroyed an organ which was still necessary to the commerce of Germany.

A political writer, who has lately published a treatise on the state of Europe, * has intimated, that he was not a little inclined

* Gentz on the State of Europe before and after the French Revolution, p. 367. Lond. 1803.

to assent to an opinion which some had entertained, that (*k*) the discovery of America would have been more beneficial to Europe, if it had been deferred to a later period. The new objects of industry would then, he was disposed to think, have presented themselves in their natural order, when the domestic resources of Europe had been improved to their greatest perfection; and that kind of revolution, which has been the consequence of the inversion of this natural order, would have been precluded. It must however be observed, that this very writer has maintained that this great event, even as it happened, was highly beneficial to the social existence, and contributed in a very important degree to the improvement and welfare of Europe; and with this admission of actual advantage I might perhaps justly be satisfied: but the sentiments of this writer are entitled to so much respect, that his intimation even of a doubt, whether these interests might not have been still more effectually promoted by a delay of this grand discovery, appears to be deserving of your consideration.

To such a writer I am happy in being enabled to oppose the authority of Robertson, who has adopted from Raynal a remark, which proves that this event could not have been usefully delayed, if other parts of the general system be supposed to have remained unchanged;

and when we consider whether some one part might have been otherwise managed with greater advantage, the enquiry must surely be conducted on the assumed principle, that the improvement then under our consideration should be compatible with the actual state of the remainder of the system. It is, * say these writers, to the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and to the vigour and success with which the Portuguese prosecuted their conquests, and established their dominion in that country, that Europe has been indebted for her preservation from the most illiberal and humiliating servitude, that ever oppressed polished nations. The Turkish power, it has been already shown, had gradually pressed upon the nations of Europe, and within a few years after the circumnavigation of Africa was established in Syria and Egypt, and was thus interposed between those nations and the commerce of the east; the monarchs too, who in this period governed the empire of the Turks, were eager to avail themselves of the advantages of such a situation to depress and ruin their adversaries, and well qualified to exert powerful efforts for the attainment of their object. If then this government had been allowed to hold an exclusive possession of the trade of India, and to acquire such a naval power as the

* Disquis. concerning India, p. 221, &c.

possession of that trade could not fail to create and support, the western countries of Europe must have sunk beneath its baleful ascendancy, and their civilization and improvement must have been suppressed and destroyed. But if the naval communication with India was thus critically necessary to the interests of Europe, the discovery of America could not have been delayed without prejudice to those interests, since the precious metals of the new world were then indispensable to the commerce of the old, and the discovery of De Gama must have been of much less value without that of Columbus. Indeed the discovery of America could scarcely be considered as a separate event, depending on the enterprise of any individual, for it must necessarily have resulted from the circumnavigation of Africa, and in this manner was Brazil accidentally discovered by the Portuguese, only eight years after the first discovery of Columbus, and but four after he had first visited the American continent.

But it may well be questioned whether that was indeed the natural order of events, for which this writer would wish that the discovery of America had been postponed. It has been accordingly remarked in the able and original treatise on the Colonial Policy * by Mr. Brougham, that in all countries manufactures

* Vol. 1. p. 144.

and foreign commerce have been anticipated, and that they have contributed to augment agricultural labour, instead of deriving their origin from the highly improved state of rural industry, and the consequent superabundance of rude produce. That should be called the natural order of events, in which it appears from experience that man by the law of his nature is determined to act, not that according to which we may theoretically suppose that they should be produced ; and the full maturity of domestic industry should therefore be sought as a consequence of the establishment of the colonial system, uniting under the same government countries differing in climate and commodities, and thus providing an opportunity of an interchange, rather than expected as the natural and most useful preparation for a regular and gradual expansion of the energies of commerce. The manufacturing system of Europe had at this time attained to a considerable degree of perfection : it had spread from Italy to the Netherlands, attracted by the demands of France ; and from the Netherlands it had extended to England, whither it was drawn by the possession of the raw material of the great woollen manufacture, and had even, probably for the same reason, been partly established in this country. But in this condition it might long have remained, if the cheaper supply of the

luxuries of India had not stimulated industry to provide a still greater quantity of manufactures, that the people of Europe might be more generally enabled to procure them ; and if these manufactures had not found a new market in America, in which the precious metals could be obtained to effect the purchases of the east, as well as to manage the domestic operations of the augmented commerce of Europe.

The historian of commerce * has remarked, that it is scarcely worth enquiry to consider, what would have been the consequence, if Henry VII. had at once accepted the proposal which Columbus had sent to him by his brother, and England had thus become the primary possessor of America. In a mere history of the events which have actually occurred it would indeed be superfluous to consider, what might have happened in an imaginary case ; but in an analysis of the formation of the modern system of Europe it seems to be important to enquire, whether any peculiar adaptation can be discovered in those members of that system, which became the instruments of the extension of its commerce, more especially as in regard to England, since so considerable in this very view, contingent and per-

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* Anderson, vol. 1. p. 315.

sonal circumstances appear to have exercised a remarkable influence. Portugal indeed was naturally attracted to the discovery of the western coast of Africa, and consequently to the maritime discovery of India ; and southern America lay open to its approaches : but Spain yielded with reluctance to the persevering solicitation of Columbus, and was by a combination of his importunity with the contingencies which frustrated his application at the English court, almost forced into the possession of Mexico and Peru.

The adaptation of Portugal to the operation of effecting the first establishment of Europeans in Hindostan may appear from these considerations ; that the strength of the Mahometan establishments already existing in that country required, that the first European enterprises should be undertaken by a people rather military than commercial, and that as a military people could not be well qualified to improve its conquests to commercial purposes, it was expedient that this people should not be very powerful, so that it might afterwards without much difficulty be stripped of its acquisitions by another nation, which should be more commercial than military. Portugal had accordingly in the long wars of Spain been rendered, not only military, but specially and enthusiastically hostile to the Saracens, while its situation on the Atlantic

necessarily disposed its people to maritime adventure, though on account of their military character but in an inconsiderable degree to the pursuits of commerce; and its secondary importance, as it afterwards caused it to yield to the temporary ascendancy of Spain in the union of the two governments, afforded to the Dutch republic a favourable opportunity for converting its conquests into establishments more properly commercial.

The case of the colonies acquired by Spain was in every respect different from that of the eastern acquisitions of Portugal. No formidable resistance was to be encountered, nor was any lucrative commerce here to be established; the uncivilized tribes of America could require no enthusiastic exertion of valour to effect the conquest of extensive regions, and the absence of improvement rendered it impossible to collect commodities for any considerable trade. The object to be attained in this case was the direct revenue, which might be procured from mines in the possession of an unimproved and weak people. The enquiry to be made is therefore, whether Spain was that country of Europe, which might with the greatest advantage become the instrument for conveying into it the treasures of America. To determine this question it should be considered, that the direct influx of such large quan-

tities of the precious metals must probably have been injurious to the industry of any country so employed, if not by rendering commodities and labour dearer than in other countries, yet at least by drawing away the minds of its people to other pursuits regarded as more suddenly, or more largely beneficial; and that it was therefore desirable that they should be first conveyed to some country (*1*) comparatively destitute of manufacturing industry, from which they might be distributed over Europe, as they should be variously attracted by the industry of its several nations. Spain, since the subjugation, and more especially since the expulsion of the Moors, had lost her manufactures, and was accordingly prepared to become such an organ of the general system. That country was also qualified for the function by its magnitude and strength; for it should also be considered that, though no very powerful effort was necessary for achieving the conquest of the American nations, yet a people of primary importance in the European system was necessary for the preservation of a conquest so attractive to the avidity of the rest. The function was not of a nature so temporary as that of Portugal, and was therefore to be discharged by a state, the magnitude and strength of which gave it a principal importance in the general system.

The appropriation of a portion of southern America to the Portuguese, in the casual discovery and possession of Brasil, appears to have enabled them by its supplies of treasure to maintain their trade with India as long as they retained settlements in that country; to have afterwards given them strength to support the independence, which they resumed in the revolution that placed the family of Braganza on the throne; and finally to have furnished an asylum for their government, when the power and violence of France should have overrun the peninsula, and it should have become necessary that the British empire should take its place in fighting the battles of Europe.

The view of the history of commerce taken in the present lecture is bounded by the treaty of Noyon concluded in the year 1516 between France, Spain, and the empire, by which was terminated the war which had arisen from the league formed at Cambrai for the reduction of the power of Venice. By this treaty the commercial arrangements of the more recent period of modern history were adjusted, as the condition of Venice, the great organ of the earlier combinations of modern commerce, was then determined in correspondence to the new relations of colonial policy, which were at that time commenced. The commercial republic had *

* Sismondi, tome 14. p. 418, 419.

indeed recovered all her possessions on the main-land of Italy, except some towns of little importance in Romagna, and some ports in the kingdom of Naples, which she had held in pledge; but the war of the league of Cambrai had nevertheless (*m*) exhausted her present resources, and destroyed much of the means by which these might have been repaired. The manufacturing establishments formed within her own territory had been almost all ruined by the war; Julius II. had forced the Venetian merchants to share with the directors of his own salt-works erected at Cervia, the monopoly of salt which they had long enjoyed throughout Italy; and the Turkish conquest of Egypt had oppressed with the tyrannic sway of the Ottoman government that country in which they had enjoyed their most profitable commerce. Venice still continued to be the centre of the interior commerce of Europe; but it was from this time rather the general bank for managing its pecuniary negotiations, than the emporium for the dealings of an extended commerce.

(a) Questa gente, benche mostra selvagia,
 E per gli monti la contrada accierba,
 Nondimeno l'e dolcie ad cui l'asaggia.

In the time of Tacitus the ports of Ireland were more known to the Italians than those of Britain: *melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti*. Vita Agric. cap. 24. The same local circumstances may have continued or renewed the intercourse.

(b) They however about the year 1473 acquired Cyprus, and held it with great advantage about ninety-five years. They again obtained possession of the Morea in the year 1687, but they lost it in the year 1715. Anderson, vol. 1. p. 274, 278. Candia or Crete they held until the year 1670, when it was taken by the Turks after a contest of twenty-four years. Negropont also belonged to the Venetians to a late period. Pinkerton, vol. 1. p. 466.

(c) The Venetians purchased in Egypt both the sugar produced in the country, and that which had been brought thither from India. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tome 2. p. 262.

(d) To accomplish this they not only took possession of the salt-works within their reach, as those of Cervia, but they also hindered princes, who had such works in their states, from rendering them productive. In the year 1881 they obliged the king of Hungary to destroy those which he had in Croatia and Dalmatia, giving him as an indemnity an annual pension of seven thousand crowns of gold; and

in the year 1403 they constrained the lord of Ferrara to discontinue the preparation of salt at Commachio. Ibid. p. 267.

(e) The Venetians in the most urgent distresses of the republic always respected commerce, and therefore never augmented the duties imposed on merchandise. Their resources for maintaining the war, as they have been detailed by cardinal Bembo, consisted in the sale of many offices, in loans voluntary or forced, and in deducting the greater part of the salaries of all offices and employments; of these the loans were the principal, and the public credit was supported by a faithful payment of the interest. Ibid. p. 271—273.

(f) The Florentines in the year 1422, having lately acquired by purchase the dominion of Leghorn, entered into a participation of the lucrative trade of Alexandria; but the principal sources of the riches of the Medici are believed to have arisen, as has been already intimated, from the commercial banks, which they had established in almost all the trading cities of Europe. Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo*, vol. 1. p. 136, 137.

(g) In a *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli*, recently published in London, it is stated, that about the year 1400, three different bands of soldiers, under the protection of the Grand Signior, settled at Tripoli, Tunis, and

Algiers, from whom these kingdoms sprung ; p. 5. But no authority has been quoted for this statement.

(*h*) The other states of Barbary are Tripoli on the east, and Morocco on the west. The emperor Charles V. took Tripoli, and resigned it to the knights of Malta ; these soon lost this possession, but their proximity suppressed the piracy of the Tripolitans. The Turkish power is more peculiarly established in this state, in which the bey was considered as immediately subject to the Porte, a Turkish pacha superintending his conduct. Morocco is chiefly extended along the Atlantic. The ruler of Morocco appears to have received his title of emperor in the fourteenth century, when the sultan of Morocco was for a short time sovereign of all the northern states of Africa. Its western harbours are now blocked up with sand, so that it may be effaced from the list of maritime or piratical powers. The Tunisians are considered as the most civilized of the Mahometans of Africa, a character for which they are probably indebted to the situation of their country, for many ages the seat of the chief African dominion : the ancient Carthage was not far distant from the site of the present Tunis, on the north-east ; and Cairoan, the metropolis of Arabian Africa, was about fifty miles distant in

a southerly direction Pinkerton, vol. 1. p. 739, &c.

(i) These are called Uscoques and Morlachians. The appellation of the former is derived from *scoco*, which signifies an emigrant; and they are composed of those, who by the tyranny of successive rulers have been forced to become fugitives, until they were so numerous as to constitute a distinct class of people, sufficiently powerful to avenge themselves on their tyrants the Turks. Some have supposed that the Morlachians were originally natives of Albania, and were odious to the Uscoques, because the Albanians had been their greatest enemies; while others attribute their enmity to the wish of the Uscoques to keep all spoil to themselves. From the dialect of the Morlachians they seem to be more nearly allied to the Bulgarians than to the Albanians; and a district of Croatia, which borders the southern part of the gulf of Venice, between Istria and Dalmatia, bears the name of Morlachia: the Morlachians are dispersed generally throughout Dalmatia, but are found principally on the mountains in the interior of that country. Travels in Istria and Dalmatia by M. Cassas, part 1. in *Mod. and Contemp. Voyages*, vol. 1. Lond. 1805. In Dalmatia M. Cassas remarks, the two extremes have met together, the degenerate descendants

of the Romans, who are the real Dalmatians, and the Slavonians, who are the Morlachians. In the other provinces of the western empire the barbarians appear to have united with the original inhabitants to form new nations; but in Dalmatia the two nations have remained distinct, probably because the invaders were more barbarous.

(k) It appears from the great poem of Dante, that the discovery of America was even in his time an object of speculation to the inhabitants of Europe. He represents Ulysses saying to his companions,

A questa tanto picciola vigilia
De' vostri sensi, ch'è del rimanente,
Non vogliate negar l'esperienza,
Diretro al sol, del mondo senza gente.
Inferno, c. 26.

(l) Spain even in the year 1526 had a manufacture of woollen cloth, for which a liberty of passage through France was stipulated by the treaty of Madrid, concluded by Charles V. with Francis I. then his prisoner. Anderson, vol. 1. p. 357.

(m) To assist in defraying the public expenses almost all the dignities of the state were exposed to sale. This practice was stopped at the reestablishment of peace; but the consti-

tution of the state had been corrupted, the superior orders having been filled with a number of persons introduced only by the influence of wealth. Sismondi, tome 14, p. 419. Before this contest the Venetian government had exhibited the singular spectacle of a trading people governed by an aristocracy of nobles.

LECTURE XXXIX.

*Of the history of Learning from the year 1300
to the commencement of the papacy of Leo X.
in the year 1513.*

IN the twenty-sixth lecture I have reviewed the history of Learning in the time which intervened between the suppression of the western empire and the commencement of the fourteenth century : in the present I propose to prosecute the consideration of this part of my general subject through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to the commencement of that pontificate which is memorable for the great revolution of the religion of Europe ; and thus to continue it to the period, at which the intellectual improvement of Europe had attained to a considerable degree of maturity, as its political system had also begun to assume a determinate organization of its component members.

In the commencement of the fourteenth century the vernacular poetry of Europe had acquired a distinct character, and a very general celebrity. It has been observed in the lecture to which I have just now alluded, that

nations and their sensibilities cultivated also those powers of mere intellect, which were suited to (b) the prosaic character of this people. The functions of France in the general system of policy appear to have consisted, first in originating the whole frame of European society, and afterwards in presiding over the federative combinations which had been slowly and gradually developed; and for these purposes was required a people possessed of a social, rather than of an imaginative or sentimental character, delighting in the familiarities of living intercourse, and estranged from the ideal contemplations of a poetic fancy.

In the southern provinces indeed, in which the Frankish character less predominated, in which the climate was more favourable to the expansion of imagination, and the vicinity of the Moors excited by example the sympathies of genius, some poetic powers were developed, though of no transcendent quality. Here however it was, that the poetry of modern Europe, romantic in its principle and character, could alone be originally formed. Italy, though in other respects favourably circumstanced for poetry, was not a country of romance; its earlier habits were those of cities, and the sentiments of chivalry were exotics which could be naturalized only by the efforts

of imaginative genius. A midst the feudal usages of the southern provinces of France the first rude bards might tune their uncouth lays, and devise the varied measures which, when applied to the softer and sweeter notes of the Italian language, might afterwards constitute a melody, fitted to express the sentiments of those who better deserved the appellation: but it appears from the general mediocrity of the compositions of the troubadours, that all which could here be accomplished, was to form the measures and the general character of modern poetry, and that another scene and other circumstances must have been found for its improvement. Accordingly we observe that, when the political and religious agitations of southern France suppressed the dull strains of its minstrels, Italy, possessed of the language, though not formed to the habits of romantic poetry, imitated and far exceeded the utmost efforts of the neighbouring country.

The similarity of the languages which prevailed in the southern provinces of France and in Italy, and the frequent communication subsisting between these countries, introduced among the Italians the poetry of Provence; and so favourably was it received in their numerous courts, and so eagerly was it imitated by native writers, that Tiraboschi

begins his history of the poetry of Italy in the fourteenth century with * remarking, that it was then scarcely possible to acquire the character of a learned man, without giving attention to the art of poetical composition.

It is however remarkable, that the first efforts of Italian poetry cannot be ascribed to the inhabitants of Italy. Tuscany † indeed, that part of this country which early tradition represents, under the appellation of *Hetruria*, as the first scene of its refinement, has been eminently distinguished by its successful efforts in the cultivation of modern literature; but ‡ to the neighbouring island of Sicily must notwithstanding be conceded the merit of giving a beginning to the vernacular poetry of Italy, together with that of affording to it, under various princes, the animating encouragement of royal patronage. In this origination of Italian poetry two things occurred different from what might have been presumed. We might, as § Mr. Hallam has observed, have anticipated a different result from the struggles of the independent republics of Italy in opposition to the pretensions of the imperial power, for it might have been sup-

* *Storia della Poesia Ital.* tomo 2. p. 4, 5. Lond. 1803.

† *Ibid.* tomo 1. p. 141, 142.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 94, 96. § Vol. 2. p. 593.

posed that these would have excited the people to the cultivation of their native language, and some poet to employ it in songs of triumph or invective; the poets of Lombardy however became troubadours, and wasting their genius in Provençal love-strains, abandoned to the Sicilians the praise of discovering and improving the powers of their common speech. The establishment also of the Normans in Sicily in the eleventh century might, as * the historian of Italian poetry has suggested, lead us to conclude that its poetry was derived from the northern, or Norman poetry of France, rather than from the southern or Provençal; but he has also observed that, as no specimen of Norman poetry has been discovered in Italy, and yet many of the Provençal have been found there, it must be deemed probable that the Sicilian poets were imitators of the latter, rather than of the former.

The influence of the poetry of Provence in awakening and exciting the dormant genius of Italy was slow and gradual. William count of Poitiers, who lived in the latter part of the eleventh and in the earlier part of the twelfth century, is † the earliest Provençal poet, whose name has been transmitted to

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* Storia della Poesia Ital. tomo 1. p. 11, 12.

† Hist. des. Troubadours, tome 1.

posterity. Soon * after the middle of the twelfth century this new strain of poetry attracted the attention, and was favoured with the protection of the Italian princes; and natives of Italy employed themselves in composing poetry in the language of Provence: and (c) some years before the close of this century the Sicilians presented to Italian writers the example of imitating those of Provence in the language of their own country. The poets † of Italy continued however to compose in the language of Provence during the thirteenth century, their own being still destitute of the graces which were necessary for poetical composition, while that of Provence had become a standard of expression: but when the Italian language had by a gradual improvement become qualified to convey the sentiments of poetry, the writers of this country at length ventured to imitate the Sicilians in renouncing the use of the Provençal, and the poetry of Provence, though it continued to be cultivated in France during the succeeding century, was neglected and forgotten in Italy. The ‡ reign of Charles, the first of the French monarchs of Naples and Sicily, which was terminated in the year 1284, has been remarked as the epoch of this neglect

* Storia della Poesia Ital. tomo 1. p. 15, 94.

† Ibid. p. 83. ‡ Ibid. p. 37.

of the Provençal poetry in the Italian peninsula.

The historian of Italian poetry has not assigned any cause of the priority of the Sicilians in vernacular composition. Perhaps however an explanation may be furnished by the very circumstances, which at the first view appear to render it wholly unaccountable. It seems strange and inexplicable that a remote island, in which, though the language of Italy was spoken, yet peculiar corruptions had rendered it still more imperfect than in Italy itself, should yet be the scene of the earliest poetical efforts in that language: but it should be considered that, while the splendor of a court attracted to Sicily the poets of Provence, and directed the genius of its inhabitants to an emulation of their talents, the greater dissimilarity which existed between the Sicilian dialect and that of the French poets, must have sooner disposed them to adopt their native in preference to a foreign tongue; they would be less sensible of the graces which gave a superiority to the more cultivated language of Provence, and they would find the practice of composing in it a work of greater difficulty. Perhaps too the influence of Norman habits, and still more that of those introduced by the German sovereigns who succeeded to the

Normans, may have contributed to this early adoption of vernacular composition. The descendants of Normans might not be very favourably disposed towards the southern poetry of France, and might choose rather to attempt the cultivation of Italian poetry where the romances of the country of their ancestors had not been introduced. A German court too might have been well inclined to set up the practice of vernacular composition in opposition to the pretensions of the French troubadours; and accordingly we * are informed, that Frederick II, who ascended the throne of Sicily in the year 1197, was himself, with many persons of his family and court, a cultivator of Italian poetry.

But whatever rude attempts may have been previously made, (*e*) Dante, who began his celebrated poem in (*f*) the commencement of the fourteenth century, is universally regarded as the true father of Italian poetry. This eminent writer was well acquainted (*g*) with all the learning of his age, being a distinguished philosopher and theologian; and he has accordingly introduced into his Divine Comedy a great variety of learned disquisitions: his display of learning may in our judgment detract from the merit of his poetry, but in his time it

* Storia della Poesia Ital, tomo 1. p. 96, 99.

acquired for him the admiration of the learned, and probably more than the charms of his verse procured him the extraordinary honour of having professorships established in various universities of Italy for the exposition of his great work. To us he is interesting only as a poet, and that we may form a just conception of the transcendent merit which he possessed in this character, the historian of Italian poetry * desires us to consider, what was its situation just before this master composed a poem which has commanded the admiration of posterity ; an assemblage of rhymes, says he, feebly expressing frigid sentiments of love or morality, was all that Italy could boast before he tried the powers of his genius. He first knew how to animate the language and the sentiment of poetical composition. His perfections it is to this day difficult to imitate, while his defects are imputable rather to the age in which he lived, than to himself.

In effecting this great revolution in the state of Italian poetry the peculiar genius of Dante must be regarded as the grand and powerful instrument. At once ardent, melancholy, and abstracted, he appears to have been particularly formed by nature to rule with an overbearing sway the imaginations and the feelings of his species, and to make an impression on their

* *Storia della Poesia Ital.* tomo 2. p. 37. 38.

sentiments and language, which should endure for ages. This genius too appears to have urged him to seek for other helps and materials, than those which the earlier poets of Italy had employed. The poetry of Provence, though it was fitted to make some preparation for that of Italy, was destitute of the high qualities by which true poetry is distinguished, and therefore incapable of furnishing a model for its subsequent improvement. A * few thoughts turned into a thousand different forms, low and vulgar expressions, a tiresome monotony and prolixity, harshness of versification, and ill-adapted rhymes, are according to Tiraboschi the prevailing character of the Provençal poetry. Formed without the aid of the classic productions of antiquity, it derived no beauties from the imitation of a chaste representation of natural sentiment; and being the creature of the feudal courts of the French provinces, it was equally destitute of the advantage which might have been received from the contemplation of the original objects of nature: nor could the language prove superior to the thoughts which it communicated, the barbarism of the yet unformed diction rendering the graces of expression commonly unattainable. From such a source however it was necessary that the vernacular poetry of Europe should

* Storia della Poesia Ital. tomo 1. p. 36.

take its origin. If the writers of that time had been capable of studying and admiring the classics of antiquity, they would have shrunk with disdain from the rude language of their contemporaries ; and if they had not lived in the artificial society of courts, they must have been unqualified to bestow upon its rudeness the polish which it required. Thus it happened that the formation of the modern poetry was unavoidably begun in circumstances, in which little of true poetry could be expected to appear. It was necessary that another source should afterwards unite its stream with that which flowed from the Provençal fountain, before the full current of poetry could be poured over Italy. The study of the ancient models of composition, which would have suppressed the first tendency towards vernacular literature, afforded it most valuable assistance, when it had already been so far exerted, that poetical expression appeared to be attainable in modern language. It then appeared that a language might be formed, not utterly incapable of expressing the sentiments, which the pure poetry of antiquity excited in the soul of genius, and the desire of being generally intelligible overcame the repugnance still entertained to the use of so unclassical a diction. Dante accordingly has declared that (*h*) Virgil was his master and his model, and that he had

learned from this great antient the style which had procured him honour ; such indeed was his admiration of classical literature, that he began to compose his celebrated work in the language of Virgil, though he soon discontinued his Latin composition, probably through apprehension that his work might not be sufficiently intelligible to an illiterate world.

But though Dante manifested this profound deference for the poetic authority of the Latin bard, it must not be supposed that he did not also receive some direct assistance from the troubadours, besides the mere example of vernacular composition. Some of these he has honoured with warm eulogies in his great poem ; in his tract *de vulgari eloquentiá* he has represented Thiebault king of Navarre as a model for poetical composition ; and he has in (i) two remarkable instances exercised his own genius in composing in the language of Provence. The (k) chief assistance however, which these modern bards afforded him, consisted in affording an example for the formation of that Italian diction, in which he judged it prudent to compose his *Divina Commediá*. The language of Italy had begun to receive a distinct character about a century before the time of Dante ; but it was still so rude and unfashioned, that in his review of its actual condition he saw reason for (l) rejecting all the

existing dialects as unfit to constitute the standard of vernacular expression, and to acknowledge only an ideal form, composed of what was common to each separate mode of speech, and separated from all local peculiarities. Such notwithstanding had been already the improvement of the language, that * he distinctly predicted the ascendancy which it would speedily attain, describing it as a new sun, which should soon appear above the horizon, and give light to those on whom the light of ancient latinity no longer shone.

The circumstances of the life of this great poet were all such as favoured the development of his peculiar genius. Like the poets who preceded him, and like Petrarca who followed him, his muse was fostered by love; but the love of Dante was his own, distinct and appropriate. It was not like those of his predecessors in Italian poetry, a (*m*) vapid refinement of imagined passion, destitute of the truth of natural feeling; not like that of the troubadours their models, a display of the sentiments of a common-place, and often of a licentious gallantry; nor yet like that of Petrarca, an almost platonic admiration of an unattainable, but real and living object. At † the early age of nine years he conceived for his beloved Beatrice an attachment, which was

* Ginguéné, tome 1. p. 474.

† Ibid. p. 440.

strengthened in his progress towards manhood; when both had attained to maturity, she was torn from his hopes by death, and a passion so long cherished was spiritualized by a calamity, which in his mind invested its object with a saintly character; and though he sought consolation in another engagement, his marriage produced only vexation and disappointment, and thus his actual experience of a conjugal life served but to give a strong relief to the ideal forms of happiness, which he had pictured in his imagination round the fair vision of his Beatrice. A being so loved and so venerated became almost an object of idolatrous regard; and accordingly in his great poem, confounded (*n*) with a personification of theology, she succeeds as his guide through the regions of purification and of happiness, when the pagan poet had conducted him through the tortures of the damned. While the kindly affections of his nature were thus excited and elevated, his irritability was exasperated by the disasters of his political fortune. Banished from his country for having endeavoured to rescue it from the dominion of (*o*) a foreign master, he ate in exile with a haughty indignation (*p*) the *bitter bread* of dependence, and composed his celebrated poem in such a restless inquietude, that (*q*) almost as many cities claimed the honour of his nativity, as among the ancient

Greeks pretended to have given birth to the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The ardent mind of the poet was thus wrought to the utmost excitement of its powers by the various occurrences of his life : his love, first kindled in the pure bosom of childhood, and fanned by reciprocal affection, was consecrated by the early death of its object, and maintained in all its intensity by the contrasted vexations of an unhappy marriage ; his resentment was roused to all its vehemence by the utter failure of his efforts to assert the independence of his country, a failure so complete that * he was himself sentenced to be burned alive, if he should again be found within its precincts. Dulness may be comforted in its obscurity, when such a price is paid for the distinctions of genius.

The *Divine Comedy* of Dante was not thus denominated as a dramatic composition, but † probably because it was designed to be composed in that middle style of writing, which the poet himself considered as suitable to this species of the drama, being intermediate between the tragic or sublime style and the elegiac or the plaintive. It is not indeed accommodated to any of the regular forms of composition, but appears to have been the almost unstudied expression of a mind stored with all the learning of the time, acutely sen-

* Ginguené, tome 1. p. 446, note. † Ibid. p. 484.

sible of injury, proudly disdainful of insult, animated with the most vivid conceptions of every surrounding object, and elevated by a passion purified from every grosser sentiment. Though therefore incapable of being reduced to any established standard of critical judgment, it possessed however in the most exalted degree the qualities most fitted to arrest the attention, and to attract the admiration of Italy. Displaying the abundance of that scholastic learning, which was then considered as comprehending the whole of human wisdom; exhibiting with the keenest sarcasm the objects of the political and personal resentments of the writer, men who had recently moved on the stage of public life; and delighting the imagination with all the beauties of picturesque description, and with the charms of that moral sensibility, which awakens by a sympathetic influence all the kindly and virtuous affections of our nature; it addressed itself with resistless power to all, because all could be gratified either with learning, with invective, with natural imagery, or with moral sentiment.

This great poem was * scarcely given to the public, when it became an object of general attention and admiration throughout Italy. Not only were copies of it immediately multiplied without number, but

* *Storia della Poesia Ital.* tomo 2. p. 38, 39, 46—49.

many persons in the very same age hastened to explain its obscurities by commentaries, and public lectureships were established for expounding it, first in Florence, and afterwards in other towns of Italy. The philosophy and theology, with which this work abounded, probably caused it to be regarded as entitled to its academic honours; but its gloomy and satiric character seems to have been the principal cause of its immediate and universal popularity. Harassed * as the people of Italy had been by domestic wars, and agitated as they still were by the violence of political party, they were most deeply interested by a poem, which, professing to reveal the secrets of the unseen world, exhibited sarcastic delineations of all the distinguished persons recently deceased. Perhaps it would not be possible to conceive a species of composition better fitted to arrest and engage the general attention in such circumstances, and consequently to impress the minds of the people of Italy with a deep conviction of the resources of their language.

Florence, which had given birth to Dante, was also the residence of the parents of Petrarca or Petrarch, though he was born at Arezzo, and passed much of his life at Avignon or in its vicinity. This father of the

* Denina's *Revol. of Literature*, p. 92, 95.

lyric poetry of modern Italy was born in the year 1304, seventy-nine years later than his great precursor. At this distance of time it was desirable that another poet should succeed, who should give more attention to the polish of language, than had been suitable either to the circumstances, or to the severer genius of Dante. Writing almost in the commencement of his language, to which he indeed first gave a form qualifying it for the nobler purposes of composition, the original bard was necessitated to avail himself of many modes of expression, which the taste of his successor found reason for rejecting; and filled with strong and bold conceptions, which he was eager to communicate, he sought for a compression of language, which should forcibly, because briefly, convey them to his readers, not for the more diffuse elegance of phraseology, which might better ornament the amatory lays of his successor. The style of Dante was appropriate to his subject; and though it must have served to give energy to the newly formed language, must have been too grave, and too sententious, to supply a standard for that of the general poetry of Italy: this was better furnished by Petrarca, whose poetry however might have given a character of too much feebleness to the language, if (r) the very different style of

the Divine Comedy had not previously infused into it much of the power of its author. How much better indeed the later was accommodated to the general imitation than the earlier poet, appears plainly from the result; Petrarca has been followed by a crowd of lyric poets, while Dante has had no imitator.

The literary importance of the character of Petrarca must however by no means be conceived to be limited to the consideration of the fame which he acquired by his Italian poetry, though on (*s*) this part of his writings the reputation which he has obtained as a poet with succeeding ages, has been wholly established. Among (*t*) the foremost in urging the study of the Greek language in Italy, and (*u*) the first who engaged in a search for the forgotten classics with the ardour of passion, he was at once a philosopher, historian, orator, poet, and critic; he not only cultivated every kind of learning, but was active in procuring for it the protection of all the princes of his age, and exciting by a very extended correspondence a general love of letters throughout France and Italy. Nor was he in this respect a mere scholar, who implicitly received all the opinions consecrated by authority, but * was

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* Ginguené, tome 2. p. 433.

especially zealous in combating the errors of the misguided philosophy of his age, alchemy, astrology, and the excessive veneration of Aristotle. Possessed of such other claims on the attention of mankind, he must, even though he had never been a poet, have been respected as one of the most distinguished men of his country, and particularly as the great restorer of Italian learning.

The passion which Petrarca cherished during twenty years for Laura, is a remarkable example of the influence of personal and contingent causes on the revolutions of society. That a poet should have conceived an amorous passion, and should have exercised his genius in endeavouring to win the affections of the object of his admiration, are not indeed at all extraordinary events; but such events would not of themselves have formed the peculiar poetry of Petrarca. For this it was required that the object of passion should be, not indeed insensible to admiration, but incapable of yielding to the seductions of irregular desire, and yet be placed beyond the reach of any legitimate addresses. If Laura had been indifferent to the tenderness of her lover, his passion must have expired for want of encouragement; if she could have ceased to be virtuous, his poetry must have resembled the sensual strains of the ancient bards

of Greece and Italy; if she had been single, and had therefore been attainable by an honourable union, the completion of his wishes must have freed him from those anxieties and agitations, which formed the subject and the character of his amatory poems. Laura was none of these, and therefore Petrarca continued to pour forth the complaints of his love, tender and passionate, but so purified from the grossness of an ordinary affection, that * even in his life-time it was considered by some persons as purely spiritual, and by others as only an allegorical representation of his devoted attachment to wisdom. The love of Petrarca, however, though refined to the utmost purity of sexual passion, was still (v) a real affection for a living object, and was in this respect distinguished from the tender recollection of Dante, which had acquired from the death of its object the solemnity of a sentiment of religion. Indeed the Italian poetry of Petrarca owes its very existence, and not merely its peculiar character, to his love, of Laura, for while he hoped for fame from his (w) Latin compositions, he adopted in his amatory verses the modern language of his country, as being in-

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* Storia della Poes. Ital. tomo 2. p. 76, 77.

telligible to that living world, in which he wished the praises of his Laura to be known. He was however himself surprised at the reputation which his Italian poetry had acquired for him, and would be still more astonished if he could now be apprised that, while his Latin poetry is read only by the inquisitive antiquary, he has been, for those compositions of which he always spoke as of the follies of his youth, respected by posterity as (x) the creator of the lyric poetry of modern ages.

It should be observed that, though Petrarca was almost a century posterior to Dante, and (y) in his later compositions appears to have been desirous of emulating the solemn dignity and vigour of his style, yet is he entitled to be considered as a distinct and original founder of the poetry of his country. He has declared, in * a letter addressed to Boccacio, that he had purposely abstained in his youth from reading the poem of Dante, lest he should involuntarily become an imitator, though when his style had been formed, and he felt himself to be no longer exposed to that danger, he permitted himself to peruse the writings of him, to whom, as he said in his pride of superior Latinity, he gave the apple of the vulgar eloquence. The diction of Dante was not indeed congenial to

* Viè de Petrarque, tome 3. p. 508, &c.

the lighter and more elegant taste of Petrarca, who has even characterized him as vulgar in his style, though very noble in his thoughts; and the formation of the Italian poetry demanded the genius of a new and independent master.

The circumstances of Petrarca's coronation illustrate the importance of the southern sovereignty of Italy to the cause of learning. When he had in the same day received from the senate of Rome, and from the university of Paris, offers of that honour for which he had long and earnestly panted, he resolved that, in accepting the former of these offers, he would be indebted for the laurel crown to the judgment only of Robert king of Naples. To the judgment of this prince he accordingly submitted his pretensions, and when he had during three days undergone an examination in all the subjects of literature, history, and philosophy, in all which he was admitted to be qualified for receiving the proposed distinction, he proceeded to Rome, and was crowned in the capitol. These laureate distinctions appear however to have been subjected to a fatal influence even from their original: Petrarca was esteemed by the royal critic for his Latin poem of *Africa*, which since has been forgotten; and posterity have crowned him with their applause

for his Italian compositions, which appear to have been on that occasion wholly disregarded.

As the exile and vagrancy of Dante had inflamed the satiric spirit of his genius, so probably did the voluntary removal of Petrarca from Italy to Avignon prove favourable to the amorous effusions of his very different muse. Though surrounded by an Italian court, or at least in its vicinity, he passed the greater part of his life near that region of France, in which the Provençal poetry, the language of love, had long been cultivated; and however unworthy the troubadours may be deemed of being considered as the instructors of his superior genius, yet he * appears to have been by this circumstance disposed to give more attention to their productions, and to improve their rude and imperfect essays into the construction of the lyric poetry of Italy. The residence of the papal court at Avignon probably preserved his connection with his native language, while the peculiar character of the Provençal poetry concurred with his amorous attachment to influence the style of his vernacular compositions.

The last of the great triumvirate distinguished in the Italian literature of the fourteenth century was Boccaccio, who was born in the year 1513, nine years after that which had

* Vie de Petrarque, tome 1. p. 154.

given Petrarca to the world. Like his two eminent predecessors he originally proposed the pure writers of antiquity as the models of his imitation, and * it was a view of the tomb of Virgil, which first kindled his poetic ardour. But though his studies were as classical, and as comprehensive as those of his friend Petrarca, and his works in verse as well as in prose, in the Latin as well as in the Italian language, were very numerous, his fame is founded on a collection of novels called the Decamerone, and it is as the father of the prose composition of the modern language of his country, that he is here entitled to consideration: his poetical pursuits indeed he himself † abandoned, when he saw the productions of Petrarca, despairing of contesting with this writer the claim of preeminence. It has accordingly been observed ‡ by Tiraboschi, that Italian prose is as much indebted to Boccaccio, as Italian poetry to Petrarca; and § the Italians still consider the Decamerone as the best prose composition which has been written in their language, its author having thus at once carried this species of composition to its perfection.

A curious scale may be observed in the amorous affections of the triumvirate, who have

* Storia della Poesia Ital. tomo 2. p. 141. † Ibid. tomo 2. p. 159. ‡ Ibid. p. 160. § Vie de Petrarque, tome 3, p. 609.

been the authors of the refinement of the modern language of Italy, ending in its lowest graduation, as might be expected, with the improver of its prose; all were powerfully influenced by the passion of love, in the composition of the various works by which their names have been immortalized, but each in circumstances distinct and peculiar. The vehement and gloomy mind of Dante was elevated to a religious solemnity by the early death of one whom he had loved from the simple purity of a childish attachment: the impassioned tenderness of Petrarca was refined into an almost Platonic affection by a protracted admiration of a living but unattainable object: Boccaccio, himself the offspring of an irregular amour, appears to have been engaged only in licentious attachments, which have communicated to his tales a character of impurity, offensive even to his own more serious feelings in his later years. The Divine Comedy attracted the attention of the public by the combined influence of political sarcasm, of grand conception, and of pathetic sentiment; and the lyric poetry of Petrarca could engage the general admiration by addressing itself to all the refined and elegant affections, which the music of verse was capable of exciting: but the prose of Boccaccio could procure readers or hearers only by presenting amusement to the light

and unthinking; and in that coarse and unpollished age (z) such persons could be amused only by a licentiousness, which society would not at present tolerate.

Italian poetry, which in the fourteenth century had been so ennobled by the genius of Dante and of Petrarca, was in the fifteenth so neglected, that it almost degenerated into its original rudeness. The cause assigned for this strange reverse of fortune by the * historian of Italian literature, is deserving of your attention, as it indicates the importance of the influence exercised by the Provençal poetry in the improvement of the modern languages of Europe, and the peculiar suitability of the time in which that influence was exerted. The intercourse established between Greece and Italy in the latter years of the fourteenth, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century, excited, says he, among the Italians, such an enthusiasm for the learning of Greece, that (aa) all who then aspired to the fame of letters, devoted themselves to this study, and Italian poetry was cultivated but by few, and with little success. This remark may discover to us what would have then occurred, if the writers of Italy had not been encouraged and assisted by the Provençals to make some efforts for the improvement of their native language, in the

* Storia della Poes. Ital. tomo 2. p. 198.

period preceding that in which the restoration of the ancient classics attracted and engrossed the attention of the learned ; the rude dialect of modern Italy would have been despised and neglected as a vulgar jargon, and the efforts of genius would have been exclusively employed in the study of the languages of distant ages. But as events actually happened, every thing favoured the improvement of the modern poetry of Italy, even that very attachment to the study of the ancient classics, by which it might otherwise have been overpowered and suppressed. Before the opportunity of full gratification had rendered the passion for ancient literature irresistible and overbearing, the example of the troubadours had induced the Italians to try whether their own language, imperfect and barbarous as it was, might not be rendered an instrument of refined communication ; and a few writers of superior endowments had actually proved to their countrymen, that it possessed powers of expression, which only their genius could discover amidst so much coarseness. When the capacity of the language had been thus essayed, and the success of distinguished writers had proved that reputation might be acquired in this new species of composition, the general prevalence of the study of the ancient classics could but for a time withdraw the attention of scholars

from the modern literature, and must have ultimately tended to improve it by correcting and informing the taste of the public. The poetry of Provence was fitted merely to lead the way in the cultivation of modern language, and the defects of this original school of literature would naturally belong also to those which were afterwards formed by its imitators. For correcting these defects by furnishing models of just composition, it was necessary that the attention of the learned should be directed to the great performances of classical antiquity, the principles of which were those of nature itself, and the truth of which had been attested by the consent of ages. When this grand corrective had been furnished, the revived study of Italian literature might attain to its full maturity, aided, instead of being suppressed and destroyed, by that of ancient learning. Tiraboschi accordingly * remarked, that the Italian writers of the fifteenth century just served to preserve their literature alive until the succeeding age, when it was not only restored to its former improvement, but advanced even to a higher degree of perfection.

But though the fifteenth century may thus be considered rather as a period of ancient, than of modern learning, it should be observed, that the most illustrious patron of

* *Storia della Poes. Ital.* tomo 2. p. 199.

ancient learning in this century, the celebrated Lorenzo the Magnificent, was also not only a patron, but himself also a composer of Italian poetry, and contributed much by his own efforts to recover it from the barbarism, into which it had degenerated since the days of Petrarca. It is also deserving of notice, that * in the latter part of this century was introduced by Serafino of Aquila the practice of pronouncing extemporaneous verses on a proposed subject, which is peculiar to the Italians. It may farther be remarked, that the fifteenth century was among this people distinguished by the number and eminence of its female scholars; from † the very birth of Italian poetry the ladies had begun to emulate the other sex in the attention which they bestowed upon it, but the fifteenth century was perhaps more fruitful of female learning than all the preceding. Of this new class of scholars Mr. Roscoe has ‡ remarked, that if they did not greatly contribute towards the progress of letters, they at least rendered the study of languages more general, and removed the idea that the acquisition was attended with any extraordinary difficulty; he might have added, that they brought the refinement of literary intercourse from the halls of colleges and academies to the societies

* Storia della Poes. Ital. tomo 2. p. 218, 219. † Ibid. p. 239. ‡ Life of Lorenzo, vol. 2. p. 95.

of the world, and that in our own age the genius of H. More has been powerfully auxiliary to the support of that religious principle, which has always been most congenial to the piety of the female heart.

Thomas * has conjectured that a literary emulation may have been excited in the female sex by that spirit of chivalry, which had recently prevailed in an extraordinary degree, and still continued to exercise some influence on society; in the ages of chivalry females had frequently contended with the other sex for the prize of valour, and they might, he thought, in this time of greater refinement have been prompted to contest in the same manner the preeminence in letters. The effect may perhaps however have been rather produced by the same cause through its operation on the character of modern poetry. Not only the Provençal poetry, but also that of Italy, was employed almost exclusively on amorous subjects; and such poetry, being addressed to that sex whose ascendancy it celebrated, would naturally dispose them to try whether nature had endowed them with the qualities necessary for literary distinction. The studies of females, thus begun with the poetry of which they were themselves the objects, did not continue to be limited to modern languages, but comprehend-

* *Essai sur les Femmes*, p. 81, 82. Paris 1772.

ed also those of Greece and Rome, as these in the fifteenth century attracted general attention. The women * of Italy, where the classic languages were first revived, led the way in this new path of literary ambition ; those of France speedily followed the example of the females of the neighbouring peninsula ; and the (bb) French ladies, who distinguished themselves by various accomplishments of learning, became the general models of their sex through the other countries of Europe.

During these two centuries however, which thus formed the modern poetry of Italy, that of France experienced an almost total interruption, the † Romance of the Rose, begun by William of Lorris, who died about the year 1260, and completed by John of Meun, who seems to have flourished about the year 1310, being superior to every other production of French poetry down to the reign of Francis I. Warton ‡ has alleged, as a convincing proof of the decay of invention among the French in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that about that time they began to translate into prose their old metrical romances. The truth appears to be, that the prosaic genius of the language and of the people then began to

* Meiner's hist. of Women, vol. 2. p. 141. Lond. 1808.

† Warton's hist. of Engl. Poetry, vol. 1. p. 368. Lond. 1774.

‡ Ibid. p. 464.

be felt, and the time had not yet arrived, in which the French began to be poets by imitation. The poetry of the southern provinces had been the creature of local and temporary circumstances, and perished with them.

The language and the poetry of Spain were (cc) earlier in their formation than those of Italy, but so much slower in their development, that before the sixteenth century, or during four successive centuries, no display of literary excellence arrests the attention of the historian. If, says * Sismondi, the language was polished, if the versification had acquired a little more flexibility, if composition had been nourished by a little more of foreign knowledge, these advantages were more than compensated by the introduction of pedantry and affectation. The reign of Charles V. must be regarded as † the period, which at once excited the genius of the Spaniards by the animating consciousness of national importance, and corrected their taste by engaging them in a frequent intercourse with strangers. The prose of Castile may ‡ be considered as having had its commencement about the same time with that of Italy, a collection of novels, entitled the Count Lucanor, having been published there about the same time with the Decame-

* De la Litt. du Midi de l'Europe, tome 3 p. 252.

† Ibid. p. 267.

‡ Ibid. p. 209.

rone of Boccacio. The Spanish is however very different from the Tuscan collection, being composed of grave lessons of policy and morals given to a serious people in the form of apologues.

In Portugal poetry appears * to have in some sort commenced even with the monarchy in the middle of the twelfth century, and the commerce of Lisbon seems to have introduced into it a knowledge of the great Italian poets of the fourteenth, long before they became known in the rest of the peninsula. The whole period however of the history of this country, which preceded the commencement of the fifteenth century, belongs rather to the history of language, than to that of poetry, as its remains serve to illustrate little more than the progressive formation of the Portuguese diction. The fifteenth century, which expanded all the energies of the national character, was naturally the period of the rise of the literature of Portugal; and the splendid reign of Emmanuel, which began only five years before its close, produced the first of the Portuguese poets, Bernardim Ribeyro, who has attained to a high reputation. The most distinguished of the works of Ribeyro were eclogues, probably written in imitation of the

* De la Litt. du Midi de l'Europe, tome 4. p. 267, &c.

Italian Sannazario ; but the imitation seems to have been peculiarly adapted to the taste of his countrymen, for pastoral composition became the prevailing poetry of Portugal. A romance in prose, written by Ribeyro, the title of which is *Menina e Moça*, or the Innocent Young Girl, is the first composition of that country, or indeed of the peninsula, in which an attempt has been made to elevate the language of prose to the expression of passion. Spain * however, amidst some tasteless chroniclers, had also some biographers, who have been noticed with respect.

In the same century with that of Italy, though many years later, arose the poetry of England, Geoffrey Chaucer, the first English versifier, according to † Johnston, who wrote (*dd*) poetically, and, it may be added, (*ee*) almost the first who wrote the English language, as distinguished from the Saxon dialect, having been born according to the general opinion in the year 1328, or as ‡ Mr. Turner has argued, about the year 1340. When Chaucer began to compose his poems, he found a language adequate indeed to the purposes of ordinary communication, but

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* *Hist de la Litt. du Midi*, tome 3, p. 252. † Pref. to his *Diction*. ‡ *Hist. of England*, vol. 2. p. 500. Lond. 1815.

destitute of the power of expressing poetical conceptions; and he was obliged to seek additional resources * in the languages of France and of Italy, by which he might be enabled to polish the asperity of his own, and to enrich it with softer cadences and a more copious and varied phraseology. The modification which the Anglo Saxon language had received from the influence of the Norman conquest of England, particularly fitted it for admitting farther improvement from the writers of France. Chaucer accordingly translated, probably as his first essay in poetry, between seven and eight thousand lines of the Romance of the Rose. The English poet however, who had visited Italy, and † was personally acquainted with Petrarca, and probably with Boccacio, imitated not only the French, but also (ff) the Italian writers; and he has in particular not only borrowed from the celebrated prose work of Boccacio the design of his Canterbury Tales, but has ‡ also composed his poem entitled the Knight's Tale, in imitation of the Theseid of the same writer, a poem which its author deemed worthy of being preserved from the flames, when in his admiration of the superior poetry of Petrarca he condemned the rest to destruction.

* Warton, vol. 1. p. 342. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

The writings of Chaucer * abound indeed in classical allusions, but his poetry appeared to Warton to have been chiefly formed from the models of the French and Italian poets. Though however Chaucer was an imitator, he imitated with the originality of a master. The poetic beauties which he borrowed, he has improved; and in his collection of tales he has not only invented a more natural, and more convenient occasion for their recital, than that which had been employed by Boccaccio, but has also contrived to render all his characters completely British, presenting no indication of a foreign original.

As the poetry of Chaucer has now passed generally into oblivion, though detached passages may still be read with other gratification than that of mere curiosity, it would be vain to place him in comparison with the great masters of Italian poetry, who at once established themselves in the first line of composition, and fixed the language of their country. In the delineation of various character and of the scenes of external nature, this patriarch of our language has displayed considerable power, and must always excite a certain degree of interest; but the English language was in his time far less formed than that of Italy was in the

time of Dante, who had in this respect little more to do than to choose among the numerous dialects of his country, and could even then foresee, that for the purposes of composition the *vulgar eloquence* would soon gain an ascendancy over the more learned dialect, which was still cherished by scholars. The English language, which in the time of Chaucer was but struggling into being from the union of the Norman and the Saxon dialects, appears to have had another destination than that of poetical composition. Capable of expressing with energy the most sublime conceptions, but not easily supplying the flowing numbers of poetry, it might indeed become by its intrinsic vigour the language of the muses, but it seems to have been naturally more fitted to communicate with precision and force the principles of a profound philosophy, and thus to dispose those writers who should use it, rather to exercise themselves in the disquisitions of reasoning, than to indulge themselves in the play of the imagination. The three languages which I have chiefly had occasion to consider, appear indeed to have had three distinct and appropriate functions in the general system: the language of Italy, abounding in the softest combinations of sound, seems to have been particularly qualified for poetical composition; that of France,

prosaic in its structure, but expressive and epigrammatic, may be considered as the dialect of the intercourses of life; and that of England, energetic and copious, but little modified by principles of harmony, and little subtilized by the perpetual habit of personal communication, may be regarded as specially applicable to the graver investigations of the elements of the social order.

The early poetry of England, as in Italy and France, experienced a long interruption, though from a cause different from either of those, which produced similar effects in the two other countries. It was not suppressed, as in Italy, by the prevalent study of the antient classics, nor, as in France, by the character of the language and the people; but it was overwhelmed and lost amidst the agitations of civil contention. In the struggles of the rival families of York and Lancaster for the possession of the crown the charms of poetry were neglected and forgotten, and its English history from Chaucer to Spenser, or through a period of three centuries, is almost a blank. Lydgate indeed, who cannot have been born later than the year 1375, deserves to be noticed, not for his verbose and languid poetry, but * because according to the opinion of Warton, he added much to the copiousness of our language, and

* Warton, vol. 2. p. 52.

is the first of those, whose writings possess perspicuity of phrase to a merely modern reader. The succession of poetry, which was thus suspended in England, was however maintained by a series of distinguished writers in the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, and in this series we find (*gg*) Dunbar, a writer of the latter part of the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century, who was according to Mr. Ellis the greatest poet whom Scotland had produced when he published his treatise. The language of Scotland was not in this period materially different from that of England, though it afterwards deviated into a separate dialect, as the usages of the living speech were successively adopted by the writers of that country; originally it had been composed of similar elements, the Danish language having been not very different from the Saxon, and the frequent communication with France having in this respect supplied the place of the Norman conquest of England. The two languages seem, says * Mr. Ellis, to have attained their greatest similarity about the middle of the fourteenth century, or in the very age of Chaucer.

While a beginning was thus given to the poetry of England, Wicliffe published the first English translation of the sacred scriptures,

* Ellis's Spec. of Early Engl. Poets, vol. 1. p. 396.

and thus, by an important work, which attracted very general attention, gave a character to its prose. Remarkably different in this respect has been the fortune of England from those of Italy and France. Among the Italians prose composition was rendered popular by a collection of tales, in which genius was employed in embellishing licentiousness ; nor perhaps, where the gratification of poetry was so easily supplied, would any other means have been sufficiently attractive : in France the prosaic character of the language presented a strong discouragement to poetical composition, and the nation seems to have spontaneously applied itself to that species of writing, in which alone it appears to have been qualified to excel : in England lastly, where the elements of poetical composition existed, but not easily susceptible of an agreeable form, a translation of the sacred scriptures at once furnished a (hh) standard of the language of prose, and deeply imprinted in the minds of the people a knowledge of the most important truths. The English reformer was born in the year 1324, and in the year 1380 published his translation.

The intellectual improvement of the two centuries which I am now considering, consisted chiefly in the formation of the modern literature ; but the improvement of literature gave

occasion also to a revolution in the philosophy of western Europe, which did not indeed terminate in the establishment of any new principles of knowledge, but by weakening the dominion of the existing system, prepared the mind for the future exercise of its powers of enterprise. At the close of the thirteenth century that combination of the tenets of Aristotle and the doctrines of Christianity, which was distinguished by the name of the scholastic philosophy, had been so completely formed, that the authority of the pagan philosopher was ranked by Christian teachers with that of the evangelists themselves. This incongruous mixture of Grecian philosophy and revealed truth had been useful in its time, as it trained the reviving genius of Europe to acute disputation, and prompted it to a daring investigation of received opinions; but it at length was so systematized by successive reasoners, that it shackled those powers of mind which it had exercised, and a new school of philosophy became necessary for vindicating the liberty of human reason. Europe was not at this time prepared for the independent exertion of the intellectual faculties of man, and the monarch of the schools could be deposed only by setting up a rival of his authority.

The two great leaders of the ancient philosophy were Plato and Aristotle, characterized

respectively by properties, by which they were not only distinguished, but even contrasted. The former, lofty in speculation, and eloquent in diction, but not very precise in reasoning, captivated the imaginations of those who delighted in the contemplation of grand and elevated objects, though very often imperfectly presented to their comprehension. The latter, acute, perspicuous, and practical, gratified all who were desirous of exercising and improving their intellectual powers, especially as his philosophy, not limited like that of Plato to the more sublime subjects of meditation, embraced the whole circle of the knowledge of the ancient world. Such men would naturally divide the mental empire of the world, the speculative attaching themselves to the eloquent mysticism of Plato, and the argumentative ranging themselves under the subtilty of Aristotle. This division was also marked in the distribution of the ancient empire of Rome into the two empires of the east and west ; for the lively fancy of the Greeks preserved in the eastern a predilection for the former, while the latter was long regarded with exclusive veneration by the more sober reasoners of the west.

The introduction of Platonism into western Europe was naturally connected with that of Grecian literature. Petrarca in his study of the Latin classics became desirous of acquiring

a knowledge of those of Greece, and eagerly availed himself of the arrival of Barlaam a Calabrian monk at Avignon, to read with him the writings of Homer and of Plato: his knowledge of the Greek language was indeed always imperfect; but he conceived for the philosopher an enthusiastic veneration, which strongly influenced the character of his own compositions. The example and authority of the poet attracted to the Platonic philosophy the attention of the most enlightened persons in Italy, and among others of the Medici, from whom it received the most effectual protection. Its formal revival was * begun by Cosmo de Medici about the middle of the fifteenth century, in the institution of the Florentine academy, the sole purpose of which was the study of the doctrine of Plato. Cosmo had been incited to form this establishment by his conversations with Gemisthius Pletho, a Greek philosopher, who was one of the persons delegated by the Greek government to the council held first at Ferrara, and afterwards at Florence, on the proposal of uniting the Greek and Latin churches. Lorenzo, the grandson of Cosmo, was carefully educated in the same system, and a poetical abstract of the doctrines of Plato attests the proficiency which he made in this study. For the purpose of attracting more at-

* Roscoe, vol. 1. p. 35, 160, &c.

tention to his favourite philosophy, he renewed the solemn annual feasts to the memory of the philosopher, which had been celebrated from the time of his death to that of his disciples Photinus and Porphyrius, but had then been discontinued during twelve centuries. By this institution, which subsisted several years, the philosophy of Plato was maintained in the highest estimation. It can indeed scarcely be believed in the present age that the enthusiasm of a speculative system could have led any one to prefer a pagan religion to Christianity, and yet George Gemisthius Pletho, the great advocate of Platonism, * declared his persuasion that paganism would soon gain the ascendancy over the religions both of Christ and of Mahomet. It is a curious fact that a very distinguished character at this very time supported by powerful protection the cause of Aristotle, and thus maintained the balance of the two systems. † Nicholas V, the pontiff most distinguished by his love of letters, was advanced to the papacy in the year 1447, but a few years before Constantinople fell under the dominion of the Turks, and was a strenuous patron of those Greeks who favoured the peripatetic philosophy.

It may be thought that little was done for the improvement of the understanding and the

* Buhle, tome 2. p. 140, 141. † Ibid. p. 44, 45.

advancement of knowledge, by setting up another authority to guide the opinions of the learned : but * the servile admiration with which the doctrines of Aristotle had long been revered, could not be more expeditiously dissipated than by the establishment of a rival pretension ; nor could the human mind be better prepared for the independent exertion of its powers, than by being exercised in the discussion of the comparative merits of the two ancient philosophers. With this discussion accordingly the history of modern philosophy † has been considered as having commenced. The emancipation of the human mind did not however require that the contest of the two systems should be long continued, and accordingly the philosophy of Plato did not long maintain its credit. The ‡ extravagancies of some of the new disciples of his school soon tended to disparage the doctrines of their master : Ficino himself, who had been educated by the direction of Cosmo, for the special purpose of supporting his intended academy, and was under Lorenzo the great champion of the new school of Platonism, has exhibited remarkable instances of philosophical absurdity. The mystical and fanciful philosophy of Plato was naturally less fitted than the contentious dogmas

* Roscoe, vol. 1. p. 36, 37. † Buhle, tome 2. p. 108.

‡ Roscoe, vol. 1. p. 168, 169.

of Aristotle to seize the human mind with a firm and lasting grasp ; and therefore, though it might serve to weaken the dominion of the other doctrine, it was not strong enough to impose its own authority on mankind. The preparatory processes of the modern philosophy were complete when this restoration of Platonism had disposed the human mind to assert its powers. Many years however elapsed before an effort was made to establish new principles of philosophy, this having been (*hh*) first done in the latter part of the sixteenth century by Jordano Bruno ; nor was it made with success until Bacon in the year 1620 gave to the world his *Novum Organum*, or new instrument of philosophy, which even at the close of two centuries, amidst all their various acquisitions, is still quoted with respect as containing principles which these have only served to confirm.

(*a*) Almost all, says Sismondi, which remains to us of the poetry of the troubadours, is lyric ; almost all which remains of that of the trouveres is epic. *De la Litt. du Midi*, tome 1. p. 263.

(b) The national character, says Sismondi, has determined that of the poetry of each people. The poetry of the Provençals consisted almost wholly in the expression of love and gallantry, that of the Italians in the play of imagination, that of the English in sensibility, that of the Germans in enthusiasm, that of the Spaniards in a storm of passion suggesting gigantic images, that of the Portuguese in a sweet and rural melancholy. All these nations, he adds, agree in considering the character of the French nation as antipoetical, while the last, from the most ancient times, has attached itself exclusively to the reasoning faculty, and even in the imagination has developed only the power of invention. Ibid. p. 299. The Romance of the Rose, composed in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, has been highly commended by the French as a most valuable specimen of their early poetry, and has been translated into the English language by Chaucer, but this very poem was censured by Petrarca, and was admired for the ingenuity of its allegorical representations, not for its poetical excellencies. The language is not at all figurative, the descriptions excite no interest, and the metre is the only characteristic of poetry. Ibid. p. 305, 306. The prose epic of Fenelon is an attempt to substitute eloquence

for poetry, the necessity of which has not been disproved by the *Henriade* of Voltaire.

(c) A poem of Ciullo d'Alcamo, a Sicilian, is quoted ; but nothing is known of him except that he lived at the close of the twelfth century. The poem appears to have been written in the Provençal form, but composed of various measures intermingled, some terminating in rhymes, and others wanting this correspondence. The German emperor Frederic II, whose reign in Sicily began in the year 1197, is therefore considered as more justly entitled to the credit of priority in this Sicilian school of Italian poetry. Ginguené, tome 1. p. 337, 338.

(d) Frederic possessed very general pretensions of a literary nature. He knew, besides that of Italy, the Latin, the French, the German, the Greek, and the Arabic languages ; and was well acquainted with the philosophy of his time. He founded schools in Sicily, to which he invited learned men from the continent, and created the university of Naples ; and on the continent he restored the school of Salerno. He caused various treatises of medicine, and some of the works of Aristotle, to be translated from the languages of Greece and Arabia for the instruction of the students. He established at Palermo a poetic academy, of which himself and his sons were members ;

and he gave much of his attention to the study of natural history, so far at least as it was connected with fowling. Of his poetry only a single ode remains, which exhibits the Italian language at its birth, still mixed with Sicilian idioms, and with words retaining the traces of Latinity. In his literary occupations he was powerfully aided by his chancellor Peter des Vignes, who was not only a great statesman, but also a philosopher, a lawyer, an orator, and a poet. Frederic discovered his merit, and advanced him from a very miserable poverty; but the courtiers were envious, the prince was deceived by calumny, and Peter des Vignes, having been condemned to be deprived of sight and liberty, put an end to his own existence two years before the death of his master. Ibid. p. 344, &c.

(e) The name of the poet was properly Durante, of which Dante was a diminutive appellation given in infancy. Ibid. p. 438.

(f) Seven cantos of the Divine Comedy were composed in Florence before his exile, which occurred in the year 1301. The remainder was written in the wanderings of banishment. Ibid. p. 450, 481, 482.

(g) In a prose work, to which he has given the name *Convivio* or *Convito*, he has strongly expressed the delight he experienced in the acquisition of learning. "Happy," says he,

“are the few who sit at the table, where men are nourished with the bread of angels, and unfortunate are they who have a common nutriment with brutes.” Ibid. p. 470.

(h) In the speech with which the poet addresses Virgil, when he meets him in the infernal regions, he says ;

Tu se' io mio maestro, e'l mio autore :
 Tu se' solo colui, da cu' io tolsi
 Lo bello stile, che m'ha fatto onore.

(i) He was, says Ginguené, a great admirer and imitator of the troubadours ; and in one of his *canzonet* the verses of every strophe are alternately Provençal, Latin, and Italian, a strange device employed by the poet to make known to all the world, as he mentions, the sufferings of his heart. Tome 1. p. 465. In his great poem Arnault Daniel, a Provençal troubadour, is described as one, who surpassed all verses of love and prose of romances ; on which occasion the Italian poet has composed for Arnault a speech in eight Provençal verses. Ibid. tome 2. p. 178, 179.

(k) The question of the originality of Dante in the composition of his celebrated poem has been well considered in the 60th number of the *Edinburgh Review*. The writer of that essay appears to have with good reason rejected the

conjectures, which would degrade his génius, and to have truly described him as influenced in the structure of the Divine Comedy only by the prevailing spirit of his age, from which he adopted a visionary mythology, as the machinery of his poetical conceptions. Seizing accordingly, as the author remarks, on the religious feeling of his contemporaries, he fixed as the time of his vision the last year of the thirteenth century, in which the pontiff had proclaimed a plenary remission of sin to all who should perform a pilgrimage to Rome. The poem itself, the repository of all he knew and all he felt, is, he adds, the living picture of a powerful and various mind, strongly excited by an ardent patriotism, by personal injury and distress, by disappointed love, and by a proud desire of fame ; it displays before us the struggles of Italian party, combined with all the tenderness of sensibility, and all the sublime of imagination.

(1) The Tuscans even then pretended to possess a superior purity of language, but Dante rejected their claim, reproaching them with modes of expression base and corrupted as their morals. The dialect of Bologna he was disposed to prefer to the rest, perhaps in compliment to the poet Guido Guinizzelli, one of the best of those of the thirteenth century. *Ginguené* tome 1. p. 477, 478.

(m) They paint, says Ginguen , nothing true, nothing really existing; we do not see their mistresses, we do not know them; they are ideal beings, sylphs perhaps, but never women. Ibid. p. 435. Dante took a different course, and succeeded accordingly. I am, says he, a man, who writes when love inspires him, and contents himself with publishing that which it hath dictated at the bottom of his heart. Ibid. tome 2. p. 178. Sometimes however he forgot his own rule. Ibid. tome 1. p. 459.

(n) Soon after the death of Beatrice he composed a sort of romance called *Vita Nuova*, in which he recounted all the circumstances of their affection; but feeling that this was not a monument worthy of the memory of her whom he had so loved, he concluded it with saying that, if he should live a few years, he would say of her such things as had never been said of woman. In the Divine Comedy he fulfilled this promise. Ibid. p. 466. The allegorical character given to the mistress of Dante in this poem, is perhaps a solitary example of the effect which may be produced by a combination of an allegorical with a real personage. Ibid. tome 2. p. 33.

(o) Charles of Valois, whom pope Boniface VIII. had invited into Italy, that he might drive from Sicily the young Frederic of Aragon, who had been chosen king by the Sici-

lians in opposition to Charles II. of Naples.
Ibid. tome 1. p. 444—446.

(p) In the Divine Comedy his ancestor thus predicts the suffering of the poet :

Tu proverai sì come sadi sale
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere e' l' salir per l'altrui scale.

(q) Florence claims to have been the place in which the first seven cantos were composed ; Verona advances a similar pretension in regard to the greater part of the poem ; Gubbio proves a title to some portion : others assign as the birth-place of the Divine Comedy, the city of Udina, a castle in Friuli, or the city of Ravenna. Ginguené tome 1. p. 450.

(r) Picus of Mirandula observed of these two poets, “ that respectable critics of that or the preceding age remark in Petrarch a defect in matter and thought ; in Dante an imperfection of language. The former frequently introducing into his poems sentiments of common and trivial origin, possessed nevertheless the art of adorning them with all the glow and colouring of words. Dante, engaged on subjects of the sublimest and most dignified kind, and which naturally led to the introduction of the noblest thoughts uttered by St. Augustin, Aquinas, and other similar authors, in whose

writings he was deeply conversant, is yet frequently harsh and dissonant in his language, and betrays much of the rusticity of a less polished age." Greswell's *Mem. of Angelus Politianus*, &c. p. 184. Manchester, 1805. The great characteristic excellence of Dante, says Mr. Hallam, is elevation of sentiment, to which his compressed diction and the emphatic cadences of his measure admirably correspond. But, on the other hand, the most forced and unnatural turns, the most barbarous licences of idiom, are found in this poet, whose power of expression is at other times so peculiarly happy. The general excellencies of Petrarch or Petrarca, he afterwards remarks, are his command over the music of his native language, his correctness of style, scarcely two or three words that he has used having been rejected by later writers, his exquisite elegance of diction, improved by the perpetual study of Virgil; but, far above all, that tone of pure and melancholy sentiment, which has something in it unearthly, and forms a striking contrast to the amatory poems of antiquity. *Hist. of the Mid. Ages*, vol. 2. p. 596, &c.

(s) This was a very small portion of his works, those composed in the Latin language filling twelve hundred pages, while about eighty comprehended all which he wrote in the Italian. *Ginguené*, tome 2. p. 444.

(*t*) In the year 1342 he began to learn the Greek language at Avignon, availing himself of the arrival of a Calabrian named Barlaam, who had passed the greater of his life in Greece, and was deputed to the pope, professedly to negotiate a union of the Greek and Latin churches, but really to solicit succours against the Turks. The dialogues of Plato were the principal subject of the lessons of this teacher, and the Italian poet was delighted with the refinements of this philosopher in regard to the union of souls, and the passion of love. We find him however in the year 1354 lamenting that he could not comprehend the poetry of Homer without the assistance of his teachers: divine man, he exclaimed, ah that I cannot understand you! *Vie de Petrarque*, tome 3. p. 347. He afterwards received the instructions of Leoncius Pilatus, who in the year 1360 began to teach the Greek language publicly at Florence. *Ibid.* 436. *Vie de Petrarque*, tome 3. p. 626.

(*u*) *Ginguené*, tome 2. p. 435. One classical work he possessed, which has been lost to later ages, the treatise on glory by Cicero, lent by Petrarca to an old grammarian, his instructor, but never recovered. *Ibid.* p. 437. His success in extending the spirit of research was facilitated by his incessant travelling, itself perhaps the result of the inquietude of his mind, which was

caused by his passion for Laura. Ibid. p. 370. Two important aids he provided for historical enquiries : he first proposed to form a chronological collection of imperial medals ; and he gave much attention to the study of geography, which was then miserably deficient. Ibid. p. 433, 434.

(v) This he has distinctly stated in his Dialogues with Augustine. Vie de Petrarque, tome 2. p. 119. The doubt appears to have been occasioned by a misconception of some Italians, in regard to the meaning of some pleasantries of his friend the bishop of Lombes, who had told him that his Laura was but a phantom of his imagination, created to furnish a subject for his muse, and to procure reputation for himself. Ibid. p. 285.

(w) Of his Italian compositions he says himself that, if he could have foreseen their success, he would have augmented their number, and have bestowed more labour on their style ; but that, since the death of her who was their subject, he was no longer able to supply their deficiencies. Ginguéné, tome 2, p. 560.

(x) The invention of the *canzoni*, or modern odes, belongs to the troubadours ; and this species of composition had also been practised by other Italians before Petrarca ; but he rendered them more perfect, and combined in his own productions the various qualities of poetry,

which had separately distinguished those of his predecessors, uniting with the gravity of Dante the refinement of Guido Cavalcanti, and the dignity of Cino da Pistoia. Ibid. p. 561.

(y) Like Dante, and doubtless in imitation of that poet, for he had many years before received from Boccaccio a copy of his poem, he composed his Triumphs in triplets. Perhaps he had flattered himself into a belief, that he could struggle with the author of the Divine Comedy in his own mode of writing, when he had already surpassed him and all others in lyric poetry. The poems thus denominated are visions, which were then a fashionable kind of compositions: they are five in number; the Triumphs of Love, of Chastity, of Death, of Renown, of Time, and of the Divinity. Ibid. p. 556.

(z) These tales, licentious as they were, he says that he had composed in consequence of a command, which he was unable to resist. Ibid. tome 3. p. 82.

(aa) Angelus Politianus, born in Tuscany in the year 1454, has the credit of being the first among the moderns, not of Grecian extraction, who professed the Greek language; and his writings entitle him to the praise of the earliest and most successful restorer of Latin poetry, after the age of Petrarca and Dante. Gresswell's Memoirs of Politianus, &c. p. 30,

37. Pietro Bembo, born at Venice in the year 1470, distinguished himself by correcting the perverted taste in Latin composition which then prevailed, persuading his countrymen to imitate Cicero, Virgil, and Cæsar, rather than Apuleius, Macrobius, and Statius. Ibid. p. 439. At the revival of ancient literature such was the enthusiasm of scholars, that they adopted in their academical associations the practice of assuming classical appellations, for which they are said to have pleaded the example of some of the monastics, who renounced their own names for those of saints ; nor was this practice discontinued before the year 1534, when the academicians began to assume modern distinctions. Ibid. p. 128.

(bb) The most distinguished of the female writers of France has been Madame de Stael, who has lived and died in our own days. Her talents were of the most brilliant description ; and her knowledge of the resources of the French language was perhaps excessive, for it seems to have often seduced her into a profuse indulgence of eloquent expression. If however from contemplating the richness of her colouring we proceed to examine the subjects which it decorates, we find her in her romances setting up the sensibilities of unrestrained affections against the ordinances of regulated society, and in her estimate of national cha-

racter assigning just before the battle of Leipsic, reasons to prove that the Germans could not be a military people.

(cc) The romance of the Cid, the hero of the Spaniards, was more ancient than the poem of Dante by one hundred and fifty years. It is believed to have been composed about the middle of the twelfth century, and about fifty years after the death of the great chief, who was its subject. It is described as extremely barbarous, both in the language and in the versification. The title has been formed from *sayd*. or *lord*, the title given to the Spanish chief by five Moorish chiefs whom he had vanquished. His birth has been conjecturally referred to the year 1026. Hist. de la Litt. du Midi, tome 3. p. 115, 116, 149, 150.

(dd) The reputation of Chaucer, as an improver of our versification, rests principally on the invention, or at least on the first adoption, of the heroic verse of ten syllables, which has been employed by every poet of eminence from Spenser to Johnson. All his immediate successors speak with rapture of the elegance and splendor of his diction. The characteristics of our poetry during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are an exuberance of ornament, and an affectation of Latinity, neither of which is found in any of the poets anterior to Chaucer. This therefore may be supposed to be what

Chaucer himself and his successors called an *ornate style*. No poet is however in general more free from pedantry : but the attentive reader will find that in the use of words of Latin derivation, most of which are common to the French and Italian languages, he very generally prefers the inflections of the latter, either as thinking them more sonorous, or because they are nearer to the original ; and that in his descriptive poetry he is very fond of multiplying his epithets, and of copying all the other peculiarities of the Italian poetry, from which his favourite metre is unquestionably derived. With respect to his success in his endeavours to improve the English language, there has been a considerable difference of opinion ; but he has been most admired by those who were best qualified to appreciate his merit. Spenser, who had studied him with very minute and particular attention, carried his eulogium so far as to denominate his compositions “the well of English undefiled.” Ellis, vol. 1. p. 209, &c. This appellation however may now more properly, with the author of the English Dictionary, be given to the writings of the age of Elizabeth, at which time the foreign infusions had ceased to produce disturbance, and one pure stream of speech had been gradually formed.

(*ee*) Robert of Gloucester, who is referred to the thirteenth century, seems according to

Johnson to have used a kind of intermediate diction, neither Saxon nor English : in his work therefore, Johnson remarks, we see the transition from the one language to the other. The first, according to him, who can be properly said to have written English, was Sir John Gower, who in his *Confession of a Lover* calls Chaucer his disciple, though he survived him two years. *Préf. to Johnson's Dict.* Mr. Ellis, who refers the commencement of the English language to the year 1216, considers Robert of Gloucester as decidedly English. *Spec. vol. 1. p. 76, 97.* Gower, whom Chaucer has characterized as *the moral Gower*, was principally distinguished by his *Confessio Amantis*, containing nearly thirty-five thousand lines, and written at the desire of Richard II. between the years 1377 and 1398. This poem was composed with a design of reviewing the changing manners of the world, and treating of its virtues and vices ; its plan is characteristic of a chivalrous age, in which love was esteemed the perfection of human excellence. The poet goes into the woods to muse on that passion, and meets the king and queen of love ; Cupid wounds him with a dart, and Venus, wishing to console him, if he should prove to be a worthy votary, employs Genius to examine him as his confessor : the dialogue of Genius and the poet constitutes the poem, in which accordingly are introduced various

reflections on life, ethics, and knowledge. Gower's mind had embraced the whole range of thought and study in that day, all the tales of the romances with all the knowledge of morals; and perhaps he only could then combine so much ethical reasoning, so many interesting tales, such a power of rhyming, and such ability of narration. Turner's Hist. of England, vol. 2. p. 482—495.

(*ff*) In his Canterbury Tales he calls Dante "the wise poet of Florence," and often mentions him. Petrarca he describes as

- - - - - the laureat poete
- - - - - whos rhetorike swete
Enlumined all Italie of poetrie.

(*gg*) This poet was born about the year 1465. His most admired works are the Thistle and the Rose, and the Golden Terge: the former of these was composed for the marriage of James IV. of Scotland with Margaret eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England; the latter is a moral allegory, the object of which is to show the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, which even the golden target of reason cannot always repel. Ellis, vol. 1. p. 377, 385—387.

(*hh*) It should however be remarked that the language of Chaucer appears to Mr. Turner to

be less cultivated than that of the Hermit of Hampole, who wrote at least fifty years before him. *Hist. of England*, vol. 2. p. 581. The same writer remarks, that with a small degree of attention we may still read and understand the New Testament of Wicliffe, nearly as well as the translation which is now used. *Ibid.* p. 560.

(ii) Jordano Bruno, born at Nola in the territory of Naples, was a Dominican monk; in the year 1585 he attacked the Aristotelic doctrine publicly at Paris with a great number of philosophical theses; and in the year 1598 he was burned at Rome by the Inquisition as a heretic and apostate, and for having violated his vows. He does not indeed appear to have embraced the religion of Protestants, but he entertained doubts in regard to Transubstantiation and the Immaculate Conception, as also in respect to many other articles of religious belief; and he inveighed with severity against the ignorance and vices of the monks. *Buhle*, tome 2. p. 604—609. Wild and fantastic in his imagination, and vehement in temper, Bruno did not possess the qualities requisite to constitute a reformer of philosophy; but he was even by such defects of character adapted to the preparatory office of asserting the liberty of the human mind, and rousing it to efforts of intellectual discovery. Before such efforts

could be successfully made, it was necessary that a new and more effectual instrument of knowledge should be devised for directing the mind in its researches. Bacon has accordingly, with his usual felicity of illustration, compared to the invention of the compass his plan of a rigorous induction from experiments. The ancients, says he, proved themselves deserving of admiration in those things, which demanded only genius and abstract reflection : but as in former ages, when men guided their ships only by observations of the stars, they could coast the shores of the ancient continent, or cross some small and inland seas, before however the ocean could be crossed, and new regions of the world could be discovered, it was necessary that the magnetic needle should be invented, to give them a more sure direction ; so the discoveries which have been hitherto made in the arts and sciences, are such as could be made by practice, meditation, observation, and reasoning, being within the reach of the senses and the general apprehensions of men, but for proceeding to the knowledge of the more remote and secret principles of nature, a better method of exercising the powers of the mind was indispensably required.

LECTURE XL.

*Of several independent occurrences and usages of
the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*

IN the histories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries various occurrences and usages may be distinguished, which operating generally upon society, rather than influencing the transactions of any particular state, may be more conveniently contemplated in one collective view, however dissimilar they may be when compared among themselves. Though however these were of very different characters, they admit of an arrangement in respect of those parts of the general concerns of nations, which they immediately affected, and may accordingly be classed in relation to the political, the moral, and the intellectual character of European society. They are the invention and use of gunpowder and the modern artillery, the great plague of the fourteenth century, the appearance of the Gipsies, the practice of card-playing, the introduction of the venereal disease, the restoration of the fine arts, and the invention of printing : of these I refer the first, second, and third to the political, the last and that immediately pre-

preceding, to the intellectual, and the others to the moral circumstances of Europe.

The invention of gunpowder, and the consequent introduction of the modern artillery, must necessarily have affected the political situation of Europe in various important respects. The existence of the feudal independence of the nobility required that their castles should be strong-holds capable of resisting the assaults of the sovereign. An invention therefore, which rendered fortified places in general less tenable, and rendered entirely useless the fortifications actually existing, must have given a decisive impulse to the declining power of the nobles, and is entitled to be considered as having exercised a powerful influence, in the transformation of the governments of Europe from their feudal character into more orderly combinations of political society. The same invention has been * already noticed, as it affected the general manners of Europe, in destroying the importance of armed knights, and consequently in putting a period to the system and usages of chivalry: each armed knight was in truth a moving fortification, on which the weapons then employed could make little or no impression, but incapable of withstanding the ravages of the new warfare.

The nobles therefore and the knights gave way together before the power of artillery ; and while the former were reduced to acknowledge the control of the sovereign, the latter were brought under the control of more reasonable and peaceable usages. But there is yet another view, in which the political influence of this invention is deserving of consideration. When the art of war required a great and expensive apparatus, which could be supplied and maintained only by considerable funds, the military exertions of a nation induced a necessity of financial arrangements, which in various ways affected the political relations of society. The sovereign, who enjoyed the management of larger funds, was proportionally exalted in importance and power over the other orders of the state ; commercial industry, by which alone these extraordinary funds could be supplied, became an object of great attention in the plans of every government ; and the circulation of these funds, as they were distributed for supplying the public necessities, rendered the mutual connection of the members of each society more intimate, and the union of the whole more perfect.

The advantages indeed of this great military revolution have been * recently disputed. It has been represented that, on the one hand, we

* Hallam's Hist. of the Mid. Ages, vol. 1. p. 361.

must be appalled at the future prospects of the species, subjected as it is to the encreasing powers of destruction, which science and civilization may bestow on the new instrument of death; and on the other, that it is a very doubtful problem, whether the general happiness of society has lost more through arbitrary power, or gained through the suppression of disorder. But it may fairly be questioned, whether the waste of human life be really encreased by the improvement of the means of destruction. In the great conflicts of our own days the extraordinary ruin of the shock has been caused rather by the pressure of multitudes than by the skill of the destroyer; nor perhaps could any improvement of the arts of death have in a military view any other effect, than that of bringing a contest to a more speedy termination, for in every case an army may be expected to give way, when it shall have sustained, by whatever means, a certain proportion of loss. That the political problem should appear doubtful can be explained only by the predilection which an author naturally feels in favour of the subject which has long interested his attention. Imperfect indeed have been the later arrangements of the greater part of the states of Europe, but a cool and impartial enquirer cannot fail to consider them as more im-

mediately conducive to the improvement and happiness of our species than the armed anarchy of the preceding ages : this had its own utility, as it served to furnish principles of independence to the growing system of policy, but when it had discharged this salutary function was not fitted to subsist.

Though the composition of gun-powder (*a*) is said to have been known to the Chinese in more ancient times, no trace of it has been discovered in Europe much anterior to the middle of the thirteenth century. The invention has been commonly ascribed to Roger Bacon ; but he * appears to have received his knowledge from the Saracens, for the use of it in engines of war, though rather it seems to produce a destructive explosion than as it is employed in artillery, is mentioned by an Arabic writer in the Escorial-Collection about the year 1249. For the use of this powder among the Christians of Europe we must look to the fourteenth century. Cannon are † first said to have been employed in the year 1338 at the siege of Piegillaume ; and Edward III. of England probably first ‡ brought them into the field at the battle of Cressy fought in the year 1346. The new mode of warfare was

* Hallam, vol. 1. p. 361, 362. † Ducange voce BOMBARDA, quoted in Vie de Petrarque, tome 3. p. 313.

‡ Hallam ubi supr.

perfected, as might be supposed, by slow degrees, the artillery being at first rudely constructed and unskilfully managed ; but so considerable was its progress in the sixteenth century, that Francis I. * is reported to have had four thousand horses for his train of artillery. Hand-cannon, or muskets of some description, † appear to have been used in the year 1411 by a part of the army of the duke of Burgundy.

About the middle of the fourteenth century (*b*) a violent plague raged in every country of Europe, and is represented as having carried away a large proportion of its population. Historians have however contented themselves with recording this grievous visitation, without ever enquiring whether it was in any manner connected with the progressive changes of the social order. Yet it is scarcely conceivable, that such a chasm should have been suddenly made in the system, without producing some important effects on its adjustments ; for it cannot be supposed that, when the same territorial space was occupied, and the same resources possessed, by a population reduced in a very considerable proportion, the results were the same, as they would have proved if the original numbers had continued to occupy their stations in society. A short interval

* Henault, vol. 1. p. 365.

† Hallam, *ubi sup.*

would doubtless restore the population, because this must always accommodate itself to the means of subsistence, which the actual situation of society presents; but even the temporary reduction of it, particularly as it occurred at a time when so many causes of change were operating on the social system of Europe, must in some important manner have affected its interior relations. It may be interesting to consider whether in the operation of these very causes of change, we may not discover the expediency of this great, though but temporary diminution, of the population of Europe.

The population of the fourteenth century had been formed under the influence of the feudal system, which in the fourteenth century was yielding to many causes of decay, and indeed could scarcely be said then to have any existence. As it was the effect of that system to encourage the production of a multitude of people, the rude magnificence and the power of the nobles consisting in maintaining from the produce of their lands great numbers of dependents, it seems to have been unavoidable that much confusion should have arisen from its dissolution, if a great and sudden reduction of those numbers had not been by some cause effected. It may be thought indeed, that in such a change of the social order the popula-

tion would gradually accommodate itself to the varying situation of society, so as not to require any occasional adjustment. But causes which have long and powerfully acted on society, continue to operate long after those circumstances have ceased to exist, in which they had acquired their efficiency, as the impulse communicated by a mechanical power, is maintained, though that power is no longer exerted. Great disorder might therefore have at length arisen in the system of Europe, if the inconvenient plethora of its organization had not been removed by a sudden and severe infliction of a pestilential disease. To the existing generation the calamity caused by such a visitation may have been not less, or even greater, than any which could have resulted from the inconvenient number of a population unsuited to the actual circumstances of society; but the system itself must have been freed from the disturbing agency of a multitude for which it could make no provision, and must thus have been better enabled to discharge its functions. That great confusion at least must have arisen in such a change of political circumstances, we have indeed witnessed a practical illustration in the distress experienced by * the highlanders of Scotland, a country in which the

* Lord Selkirk's Observations on the State of the Highlands of Scotland.

usages of the feudal ages have been cherished almost to the present time. The general system of society was in the fourteenth century experiencing the same change, which has latterly been spreading into the recesses of the mountains of Scotland; but as maritime discovery had not then provided those retreats for an unsuitable population, which are now furnished by the imperfectly peopled regions of America, the only emigration which the actual state of society permitted, was to the grave.

Within the same period of time also occurred the arrival and dispersion of the people who have been distinguished by the name of Gipsies. This may be thought a subject unworthy of a political speculator, and certainly does not possess any very great importance: a recent * German publication however, while it has thrown much light on the history of their tribes, has shown it to be a subject deserving some investigation. It is certain that they first appeared in the west of Europe in the earlier part of the fifteenth century: in Germany they were first noticed in the year 1417, and, from Germany they seem to have passed successively within a few years after that time into Swisserland, Italy, France, and Spain. The general uncertainty in regard to

* Dissertation on the Gipsies by H. M. G. Grellman.

the origin of this migration has given occasion to a variety of conjectures. All indeed that can be directly collected from the accounts which have been given of this people, is that they came immediately from Turkey into the western countries of Europe, and that they themselves alleged, that they had previously migrated into Turkey from Egypt, where also they had been strangers. From a comparison however of their language, appearance, and manners, the author of the dissertation to which I have alluded, has conjectured with considerable probability, that they had been originally Hindoos, of that despised cast which is denominated Parias or Suders ; and from a comparison of dates he has inferred, that the occasion of their emigration from Hindostan was the invasion of Tamerlane, who ravaged that country in the years 1408 and 1409. This opinion presents a new and curious view of the operations of this great Tartar conqueror. We have before seen him * arrest the fall of the Greek empire by crushing the strength of Bajazet, and † prepare the way for the successes of the Portuguese in India by breaking the power of the Saracen empire established in that country : according to the very probable conjecture of this writer we now see

* Lect. 37.

† Lect. 33.

him drive from the east a numerous horde of cheats and thieves, to spread themselves (c) among the nations of Europe.

When the Gipsies, so denominated because supposed to be of Egyptian origin, arrived in Europe, they are said to have represented themselves as Egyptian pilgrims, who were constrained to wander during seven years, though of the cause of this pilgrimage they gave not only unsatisfactory, but even contradictory accounts. It has been conjectured by the German enquirer, that they might themselves have merely stated, that they had come from Egypt, and that the connection between that country and the history of the New Testament might have persuaded the Christians of that age, that nothing except compulsion could have determined them to quit so interesting a country. But whatever was the origin of the notion, whether they themselves invented it as a convenient passport, or adopted the error of the Europeans, the consequence was that their earlier progress was not only not opposed, but even favoured and assisted. At length the inconveniencies of such a visitation became sensible, and measures began to be adopted for removing them. Spain, where measures of severity had already been employed against the Moors, naturally took the lead on this occasion. There accordingly the first edict for

the banishment of Gipsies was issued in the year 1492, or seventy-four years after their first appearance in Europe. The example was imitated by most of the other states; and Hungary and Transylvania are the only countries, in which (d) any efforts have been hitherto exerted, though with little success, to convert into useful subjects these troublesome invaders. But as they enjoyed a constant toleration in Turkey, as the execution of the laws of the Christian nations was frequently relaxed, and the edicts of banishment were issued without concert and cooperation, these proscriptions had but little effect, and the Gipsies continue to be dispersed in considerable numbers, though in very unequal proportions, according to the greater or less vigilance exercised by the police.

The measures of police adopted in the several countries of Europe for the suppression of the Gipsies, may perhaps be fairly regarded as indicating the advantage derived from the inroad which they made upon European society. We have examined the different consequences of the inroads which had been made from the north and from the south, and have seen the former introduce into the decaying and corrupted mass of the Roman empire the principles of public liberty, and the latter communicate to it the refinements of science,

and the embellishments of fancy. Why should we not ascribe to this other invasion of cheats and thieves, numerous as it was, and spreading through all the imperfect governments of modern Europe, the advantage of directing the minds of men to the necessity of a more vigilant administration of interior government? That such was its operation is certain; and agreeably to the ordinary observation of our nature we cannot suppose that this necessity would have been apprehended, if it had not been suggested by some experience of inconvenience, which pointed out its remedy. The fifteenth century, in which so many causes were operating to change the structure of society, seems to have been particularly fitted for such an operation. The old jurisdictions of the feudal system having sunk into decay, the exaltation of the power of the sovereign, while it required that the energies of the government should be extended through a wider sphere, appears also to have required that some great and obvious grievance should excite those energies, and direct them to their proper object; more especially as at the close of the following century the commercial spirit of Europe was to be roused to much greater exertions, and the security of property was to become an object of increased importance.

The three particulars hitherto considered

have been referred to the political character of European society, as tending to exalt the sovereign power on the ruins of the feudal aristocracy, to reduce the extravagancies of chivalry to the regulations of more orderly society, and at the same time to favour the formation of the more extended system of modern finance; to accommodate the population of Europe to the great change of circumstances, which under the combined operation of various causes it was at that time particularly experiencing; and to direct to the cares of internal administration, that attention of governments, which would else have been exercised on external objects, as better fitted to gratify ambition by the splendor of foreign acquisition. Those which I shall next consider, I refer to the moral and intellectual progress of society, on which they all seem to have acted with a favourable influence.

The most remarkable characteristic of European intercourse is the freedom of the social communication of the two sexes. This freedom, while it gave to the male sex a degree of refinement in other circumstances unattainable, allowed the other to ascend to the dignity of reasonable beings, charged with the duties, and admitted to the privileges of life. The Christian religion, which was so favourable to the pacific virtues of the weaker sex, appears to

have prepared the way for the improvement of their social situation. Their gentler dispositions were eminently susceptible of the influence of a religion of humility and peace; they were accordingly permitted to assume an important rank among its early converts; and they have often been instrumental in procuring proselytes among the fierce warriors who invaded and partitioned the empire of the west. The habits of the northern nations cooperated with the spirit of our religion in exalting the situation of the women of Europe; and the combined result of these causes and of the peculiar circumstances of the middle ages, was the formation of the system of chivalry, which, however fantastical and extravagant in many particulars, was a salutary corrective of European manners, softening the rude ferocity of the feudal warriors, and bestowing on the other sex a romantic veneration. This peculiar system of manners must have introduced a refinement of the intercourse of the two sexes favourable to morality, and by inspiring the women with a respect for themselves have armed them with the strongest merely human preservative of virtue. But even the period of the most exalted chivalry was too frequently disgraced by great grossness of practice; and when the artificial notions of this system began in the changes of so-

ciety to lose their influence on the minds of men, and the idolatrous reverence of the female sex to subside into a reasonable communication of natural sentiment, it became indispensable that some counteracting principles should be introduced, which might chasten the public habits, and hinder the freedom of modern manners from degenerating into an abandoned libertinism.

A Portuguese writer, Pinto a Jew, in a letter to Diderot has noticed the practice of card-playing, as one which has exercised an influence of this kind on European society. Moralists have declaimed with truth and energy on the waste of time and intellect, which this amusement has occasioned ; and I am very far from feeling any disposition to recommend it to my hearers : but while I perceive with pleasure that the good sense of the present age is rapidly emancipating itself from the thralldom of such an unmeaning occupation, I agree with Pinto in regarding that thralldom as highly salutary during its continuance. His view of the matter is simply that the practice of card-playing, by fixing the attention on an object separated from all the feelings of passion, infused a portion of indifference into the free intercourse of the sexes, and allowed them to be familiar with less danger to the interests of virtue. It would certainly be more gratifying to consider

society as independent of such resources, and uniformly capable of affording gratification to a rational and virtuous mind by the communion of reason and of sensibility; but such a state of society requires that we should already have attained to a very considerable improvement, and in our progress towards it we must be contented if we perceive a tendency towards such a state, though the impulse may have been received from causes which abstracted reason could not approve, however they may be practically auxiliary to improvement. Thus to the visionary folly of chivalry succeeded the sober dulness of the card-table. The principles of a more refined intercourse of the sexes had been infused into society by the former, but danger was to be apprehended from their operation, and the latter seems to have acted as a useful corrective, in the same manner as the mineral acids are supposed to neutralize the elements of contagion, and permit a safe communication even in the habitations of disease.

The practice of card-playing has been said to have been invented about the year 1390, for the amusement of Charles VI. of France, who was subject to melancholy. But * it appears that playing-cards had been known in France as early as the year 1341, that they had been

* Singer's Researches into the Hist. of Playing Cards. Lond. 1816.

introduced in the year 1300, and that they had been commonly used in Italy at the close of the thirteenth century. It is the opinion of Mr. Singer, that they were received severally from the Moors by the Italians, the Spaniards, and the French, as (e) the game of chess was certainly derived from that people; though he thinks that they may by them have been received from India through Persia, as it is known that the latter was so transmitted: the Gypsies too he thinks may have been instrumental in conveying cards from India into other countries of Asia, and into Africa, whence they may have passed into Europe before the arrival of those vagrants. The practice of using cards in divination gives additional probability to the conjecture, that they may have been originally brought from India by the Gypsies, this people having always exercised the craft of fortune-telling for their subsistence. The earliest mention of them is found in an Italian manuscript of the year 1299, entitled *Trattato del Governo della Famiglia*, by Pipozzo di Sandro a Florentine. Though however the invention cannot be ascribed to the French nation agreeably to the common opinion, it appears that about the time of Charles V. of France, the figures and suits of the original cards underwent a change, and that those which are now

generally used were then introduced ; the queen in particular appears to have been made a character in the game by the gallantry of that people.

This usage, which has been considered as neutralizing, or as qualifying the licentiousness of the intercourse of the sexes, could affect only the meetings of the more refined, or at least of the more regulated classes of society. Some other aid of public morals was required, both more operative in its own nature, and which should be fitted to act upon the coarser and more promiscuous intercourse of the dissipated and the vulgar ; and this was especially necessary in a time, when a great extension of commerce should diffuse through the lower classes of society the means of procuring such gratifications as might be purchased with money. It accordingly so happened, that the same discovery of a new continent, which powerfully excited the commercial activities of Europe, did also (*f*) communicate a disease, which has powerfully repressed its licentiousness. Conveyed * from Hispaniola to Spain, it first appeared at Barcelona in the year 1493 ; from Spain it was speedily transmitted to Naples by the intercourse subsisting between the two countries united under the same dominion ;

* *Observ. sur l'Origine de la Maladie Venerienne, Mem. de l'Institut. Nat. tome 4.*

and in the following year it was contracted by the French army, which had invaded that kingdom, and was by their return introduced into France and Germany. So rapid was its propagation, that within five years from its first appearance it was spread over Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Scotland, and England.

The importance of this scourge, as a restraint of excessive immorality, is sufficiently illustrated by the extraordinary rapidity with which it was so widely communicated. It is admitted indeed that at its first appearance the virulence of the disease was much greater than at present; and that the Lansquenets of Charles VIII. of France, being composed of men of every nation, as we are informed by Philip de Comines, might, when they had been disbanded, convey it rapidly to different countries. But the grand cause of this velocity of communication was the inconceivable depravation of manners, of which indeed we have distinct testimonials. Not only were houses of prostitution numerous in every city, and sanctioned by formal regulations of a police to which they were subjected; but we are informed that creditors, who had thrown their debtors into confinement, were obliged to allow them the company of prostitutes as a necessary indulgence. The same corruption of morals, which was thus authorized in general society, had also pe-

netrated into the retreats of those who had professed to devote themselves to religion, for we are assured by Nicolas de Clemangis, the rector of the University of Paris, that the convents had become public brothels. In Strasbourg particularly licentiousness prevailed to such an excess, that prostitutes established themselves even in the churches, so that they were distinguished by the appellation of *the swallows* of the cathedral. To the credit of the Reformation however it should be remembered, that its influence in regenerating the public morals was so conspicuous in this very city, that in the year 1536 it contained but two brothels, and four years afterwards those also were suppressed.

The occurrences which have been considered, though they have been shown to have been beneficial in their results, were not of themselves such that we can contemplate them with gratification. We can feel no pleasure in reflecting on an improvement of the arts of destruction; we cannot be agreeably interested in examining the influence of the migration of the degraded outcasts of the east; we must be mortified in regarding the dull occupations of the card-table as necessary correctives of the licentiousness of social intercourse; and we must be pained by the consideration of the ravages of that disease, which has restrained

the grosser excesses of the sensual passion. But we may contemplate with other feelings that revival of the fine arts, which has brightened the close of the fifteenth century ; and the invention of the precious art of printing, which has brought knowledge within the reach of the multitude, and effected an intellectual revolution.

The restoration and improvement of the fine arts may perhaps be considered as not much connected with that improvement of the human character, which is the object of our investigation. Man is however not merely a reasoning animal, as his nature is too simply defined by the logicians ; he is actuated by emotions of passion in his intercourse with his species, he is disposed to approve or to disapprove as he witnesses moral excellence or baseness, and in the mere proportion and beauty of external objects he discovers a source of enjoyment. The gratification afforded by the fine arts is not very closely connected with the efforts of the understanding, and the moralist cannot bestow on it the name of virtue : but it is a part of that various nature with which our species has been endowed by its maker ; it renders society more agreeable, and therefore man more social ; and it may even be considered as auxiliary to good morals, by withdrawing the mind from coarser indulgences.

Perhaps however this gratification should rather be considered as important in its influence on the industry, than on the moral or intellectual character of a people. When society has been rendered more splendid, a desire is created for various objects, which employ and exercise the industry of the lower orders of the community, and (*g*) this desire extends much beyond the collections of the curious, for a general elegance is diffused over all the productions of manufacturing skill, which disposes all classes to seek in them for something beyond simple accommodation.

Architecture exhibited symptoms of reanimation before the other fine arts, because * its principle is not the imitation of external objects, and its beauty and grandeur are therefore a mere result of the energy of the mind by which they are conceived. Venice and Pisa, which preceded the other cities of northern Italy in liberty, preceded them also in constructing temples with architectural magnificence: in the former the church of Saint Mark was completed about the year 1071; and in the latter the dome of Pisa, the first model of the new order which has taken its name from Tuscany, was finished about the close of the century. From Pisa a taste for this art was spread through Tuscany, the people of

* Sismondi, tome 4. p. 174, &c.

that city being enabled by their commercial intercourse with the east to study the models which antiquity had left, and to procure the richest marbles for their own edifices. Sculpture had also its commencement in the same age, and was indebted for it to Pisa, Buenanno having in the year 1180 cast a magnificent gate of bronze for its celebrated dome. To the Pisans indeed both this and the preceding art were long confined; for the greatest architects of the thirteenth century were either Pisans or educated among them, and the gates of one of the openings of the baptistery of Florence, which (*h*) far exceeded in beauty that of the dome of Pisa, were however executed by a Pisan artist at the close of that century.

Florence may however claim the first restoration, as well as the subsequent perfection of the art of painting. Some painters had in the twelfth century introduced into Italy the barbarous style then practised by the Greeks, in which harsh outlines exhibited with stiff and aukward attitudes figures in profile, and a ground of gold gave a gaudy relief. Cimabue, born at Florence in the year 1240, saw these rude productions of the art with the eye of genius, and though he received the lessons of the Greeks, soon learned from the observation of nature to excel his masters. His scholar

Giotto, whose talent he had accidentally discovered as it was displayed in designing upon the ground, when the peasant-boy was engaged in tending sheep, gave new propriety and dignity to the art ; this artist first animated the heads of figures with the expression of the passions, he threw their draperies into more natural folds, he discovered in part the rules of foreshortening, and he adopted a general softness which Cimabue had never possessed.

These however were but the beginnings of the modern arts, and for their perfect state we must look to Florence at the close of the fifteenth century, when the magnificence of Lorenzo de Medici had formed there a collection of those precious remains of antiquity, which still attested the grandeur of conception inspired by ancient liberty. Anxious * to excite a better taste among the artists of his own age by proposing to their imitation these reliques of genius, he appropriated his gardens to the establishment of an academy for the study of the antique, and not content with freely offering the opportunity of examining the models of genuine art, he allowed to the poorer students competent stipends for their support, and encouraged their diligence by considerable rewards. To this liberality

* Roscoe, vol. 2. p. 201.

of an eminent individual must the sudden and surprising proficiency of the fine arts be chiefly ascribed ; the gardens of Lorenzo de Medici have accordingly been celebrated by the historian of the painters as the nursery of men of genius ; and here in particular was actually formed the taste of Michelagnolo, or Michael Angelo, whose tomb was justly decorated by his disciples with the three wreaths of painting, sculpture and (*i*) architecture, and whose (*k*) grandeur of imagination at once effected a revolution in the two imitative arts.

The chief merit of this extraordinary artist, it has been well observed, should not be sought in his paintings, or in his sculptures, but was evidenced in the sudden regeneration of the public taste. To such an end such a genius as his was particularly suited ; daring in his conceptions beyond the limits of actual existence, he presented to his contemporaries an ideal form of excellence till then unapprehended, and roused them with the authority of one who could excite new feelings. Another eminent individual, Raffaello surnamed the divine, supplied in painting that affecting grace, which could not be exhibited by the commanding boldness of Michelagnolo ; of a mind not sufficiently vigorous to effect itself the reformation of the art, he was however in this respect well qualified to assist its

progress, though even (*l*) he in the improvement of his own productions, when he had been animated by the example of the great reformer, evinced the superiority of that creative artist. In comparing the formation of the modern poetry of Italy with the restoration of the arts, we may perhaps be disposed to consider Michelagnolo as corresponding to Dante, and Raffaello to Petrarca; but the arts of Italy had no prose, and for the Boccacio of painting we should look to that Dutch school, which confined itself to the faithful representation of ordinary nature.

While the fine arts were thus recovered from the barbarism of a long series of ages, the auxiliary art of engraving was invented, which has given durability to the designs of the painter, and more than any other cause has diffused throughout Europe a correct taste for the efforts of imitative genius. The discovery * has been commonly attributed to Maso or Tomaso Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, who being accustomed to engrave in metals for the purpose of inlaying, occasionally made trial of his work by taking impressions, first on sulphur, and afterwards on paper. It does not however appear that Finiguerra ever thought of any other use which could be made of this process, than that of

* Roscoe, vol. 2. p. 222.

ascertaining the progress of his own work of engraving. But another goldsmith, Baccio Baldini, possessed a more reflecting mind, and receiving some suitable drawings from an artist, he engraved on metals with the sole view of communicating impressions to paper. So rapid was the improvement of the art, that though Finiguerra lived after the middle of the fifteenth century, the numerous productions of Raffaello were in the beginning of the sixteenth committed to paper with an accuracy, which was satisfactory to his own elevated fancy.

Another art, that of printing, was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century, which has exercised the most powerful influence in forming the intellectual, and even the political character of European society, by infinitely multiplying the opportunities of information. But great as was the importance of this discovery, its origin * is obscured by much uncertainty, more than (*m*) fifteen cities having advanced pretensions to the honour of having given it birth, and a (*n*) yet greater number of persons having obtained the credit of the invention. The art indeed of printing from engraved blocks or plates is of very ancient and various origin. By (*o*) Cyprian and Mi-

* Analyse des Opinions Diverses sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, Mem. de l'Institut. Nat. tome 4.

nutius Felix it has been ascribed to Saturn ; by Licimander it is asserted that Charlemagne, in his anxiety for the preservation of the ancient laws and songs of the Germans, caused them to be engraved on wood, and from these engravings to be stamped upon parchment and paper ; and it is generally allowed, that at least before the tenth century the Chinese had made so much progress in the art of printing. That the people of China should have been led to this discovery * has been ascribed by Sir George Staunton to the peculiar nature of their government, in which distinction was attained, not by military prowess, but by a knowledge of the written morals, history, and policy of the country. Nor does it seem that they were entirely ignorant of the use of moveable types, for when the same character frequently occurs, as in calendars and gazettes, they employ such types occasionally introduced, but formed of wood, and not applied by a press : the written language of China indeed, consisting of eighty-thousand characters, is one which deprives moveable types of much of their utility. Tabular printing may have been brought, as the jesuit Mendoza has asserted, from China to Germany by the merchants who came from the former to the latter

* Singer's Researches into the Hist. of playing Cards, p. 77, 171.

through Russia. Italy however, which might also have received it from the orientals, appears to be the European country, in which a rude kind of engraving, as well as that later and finer description of the art, was earliest practised, as it has been stated that in the year 1284 or 1285 the actions of Alexander were there represented by its assistance. This indeed is a solitary and a controverted instance, and the first undoubted and dated specimen is a delineation of Saint Christopher bearing an infant Jesus, with a metrical inscription, and the year 1423 at the bottom. But this is still engraving, not typography; and the world was yet ignorant of the art, which has in more recent times effected an intellectual revolution.

Tabular or block printing seems to have been received and cherished in the convents, where it was applied to the multiplication of the images of saints. From the convents it appears to have passed into the world for the purpose of manufacturing playing-cards, which were about this time introduced, and which thus became strangely connected with the history of knowledge. When the art had in this manner become important to commerce, the same artists employed themselves indifferently in preparing images for the devout, and cards for the idle; they then proceed to apply the process to the preparation of the elementary books in common

use, which have been accordingly denominated block-books; and from these block-books, which were perhaps first produced in the commercial country of Holland, the art of printing with moveable characters was at length happily (*p*) discovered in Germany. Before the year 1440 Henne or John Gœnsfleisch of Sulgeloch, surnamed Gutenberg, had conceived at Strasburgh the idea of printing with such types, but the contrivance appears to have been perfected by slow degrees, and not even completed by the original inventor. It is most probable that the first essays of Gutenberg were made with characters engraved in wood, for which he may have afterwards substituted others engraved in metal; to these engraved types succeeded, probably after he had removed to Mentz, cast metal types formed in moulds, though in an imperfect manner; and finally Schoeffer, the son-in-law of Gutenberg, deserved the credit of having devised an improved method of forming the characters, and of having thus consummated this most valuable discovery. The art thus completed * was employed for the first time in printing a Latin bible, which has no date, but appears to have been published between the years 1449 and 1455. A psalter printed in Mentz in the year 1457 is the first book which appears to have been published with a certain date.

* Analyse des Opinions Diverses, &c.

This important art was introduced into England, before it had been acquired by any other country of the continent. The introduction of it into England has been commonly attributed to William Caxton, a mercer and citizen of London, whose occupation connected him with Holland, Flanders, and Germany; and it is admitted that he first introduced there the use of cast metallic types, with which he began to print in Westminster Abbey soon after the year 1471. There is reason however for believing, that in the year 1468 * a book had been printed at Oxford with wooden types, by a man named Frederic Corsellis, whom the archbishop of Canterbury with the assistance of Caxton had caused to be brought from Haerlem for the purpose. From this time the art was rapidly and widely diffused. In the year 1490 it had reached to Constantinople, and in the middle of the following century it is said to have been extended to Africa and America; in Russia indeed, into which it had been introduced about the year 1560, it was speedily suppressed, whether through policy or through superstition.

Such was the rise, and such the progress of an art, which was the effectual instrument of the Reformation, which is still employed in diffusing into every corner of the world the lights

* Encyclop. Britan. art. *Printing*.

of reason and religion, which has given combination and energy to the public opinion of nations, and has for ever established the security of the human intellect from a second degradation into ignorance and barbarism. If the invention of gunpowder has been considered as giving a fearful sway to the collective force of governments, that of printing has in a much greater proportion augmented the power of the people, for it has accomplished in the numerous population of an extensive country what was practised in the simple republics of antiquity, it brings a whole people together into deliberation on all questions of public concern. It is indeed occasionally perverted to purposes inconsistent with the welfare of society, but its essential and general tendency is to enlighten and to invigorate the social system. The lightning of heaven may wither and destroy ; but from the empyreal fire we receive the blessings which it occasionally ravages, and the very existence by which we are rendered conscious of enjoyment.

(a) In the history of Tartary, which is annexed to the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of Herbelot, it is stated that the use of fire-arms was

introduced in China under a dynasty which ended in the year 907, and consequently at some time preceding that year. It is not indeed certain that these fire arms were cannon, and not rather machines for throwing arrows charged with combustible substances ; but as it is certain that the Chinese had guns in the year 1259, the noise of which is compared to that of the former machines, it is concluded that those also must have been constructed on the same principle of discharging heavy bodies by explosion. Tome 5. p. 259, &c.

(b) An extraordinary succession of violent rains in the winter of the year 1345 and the spring of that which succeeded, caused a general and almost entire failure of the harvest of Europe ; and the consequence of this failure was a very severe famine, which so enfeebled multitudes of people, that they became more than usually susceptible of contagion. While Europe was thus visited by scarcity, the plague appeared in the country adjacent to the Don and at Trebizond ; from which places it spread in the year 1347 through Syria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the islands of the Archipelago, Turkey, Greece, Armenia, and Russia. From the Levant it was soon communicated to Italy ; in the year 1348 it penetrated into Savoy, France, and Catalonia ; and in the following it extended itself to all the remaining

countries of the west. In the year 1350 it spread its ravages towards the north; and the little and remote, but illustrious republic of Iceland, was annihilated in the general desolation. Brabant alone escaped the contagion. It was calculated that throughout Europe three fifths of the population were destroyed. Sismondi, tome 6. p. 7—23.

The distress of Florence, which had suffered more from this calamity than any other city, either actually gave occasion to the Decamerone of Boccaccio, or was selected for the supposed occasion by the fancy of the author, though not, as we might think, very suitable to tales of pleasure. He represents seven young females, and three young men, as agreeing to withdraw together from the scene of melancholy and danger into a rural retreat, and to seek amusement in the successive relation of agreeable stories; each of these ten persons is described as furnishing a share of the recreation of every day by telling a story, and at the end of ten days the party is said to have returned to Florence. The idea of forming such a connection for the hundred tales of the Decamerone has been by Ginguené supposed to have been borrowed from the *Dalopathos*, or Romance of the King and the Seven Sages, an Indian story successively translated into the Arabian, the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the

Greek language, and imitated in Latin from the Greek in the twelfth century, which imitation was in the same century translated into French both in verse and in prose, though with some variations. Three of the stories of the Decamerone are found among those of the *Dolopathos*, the title of the Latin imitation. The connection of the tales is formed in the original romance by supposing a king to be urged by a mistress to put his son to death, and to be diverted from the execution of this measure during seven days by seven sages, each of whom tells stories during one day, but all except the last are defeated by the stories which the mistress relates in her turn. We have here also the origin of the Thousand and One Nights and the sultana Sheherazad. Hist. Litt. d'Italie, tome 3. p. 70—76.

(c) It must not however be supposed that they all migrated into Europe. "They wander about in Asia; in the interior part of Africa they plunder the merchants of Agades." Grellman, sect. 1. ch. 2.

(d) The plan for this purpose was begun by the empress Maria Theresa. Several decrees relative to this object were published in Hungary from the year 1768. Little effect having been produced, these orders were repeated in the year 1773, though without any success. The emperor Joseph in the year 1782 issued

similar orders for Transylvania, apparently ignorant of the failure of the attempts made in Hungary. Ibid. ch. 15.

(e) There appear, says Mr. Singer, such striking analogies and strong resemblances between the games of chess and cards in their first simple forms, that the origination of the latter from the former may be deduced with a high degree of probability. In the early cards we have the king, knight, and knave, and the numerical cards or common soldiers. The oriental game of chess has also its king, visir, and horsemen, and its pawns or common soldiers. The parties at cards indeed are doubled, being four instead of two. But, he remarks, the Indian game of chess, as described by Mr. Christie, called *Chaturanga*, or the Four Kings, represents four princes with their troops forming two allied armies on each side. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. *cards*, it is stated that the four kings represent the Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Frankish monarchies, by the figures of David, Alexander, Cæsar and Charlemagne, whose names are still retained on the French cards; that the four queens represent the virtues ascribed to them, birth, piety, fortitude, and wisdom, whose names Argine (an anagram of *regina*) Esther, Judith, and Pallas, are also retained on those cards; that the four knaves or valets are their at-

tendants ; and that the four suits represent the several orders of men, the ecclesiastics or *gens de coeur* being designated by the hearts, the soldiers by the spades or spear-heads (the Spanish cards have *espadas* or swords), the artisans by the diamonds or rather squared stones, and the farmers by the clubs or trefoil, the name of clubs being probably taken from the *bastos* (staves or clubs) exhibited on the Spanish cards instead of trefoil. A pun appears to have been intended in designating the *gens de coeur* by hearts *cœurs*.

(f) A disorder certainly had existed in Europe, which bore a considerable resemblance to the venereal disease. This appears from the regulations of licensed brothels, and also from some particular occurrences mentioned in history. A countess of Sicily, who went to Jerusalem, to be married to Baldwin II. king of that city, was found to be thus afflicted, it is said indeed with a cancer, and sent home. Malmsb. fol. 84. Ladislaus king of Naples was in the year 1414 attacked by such a disorder, probably occasioned by his excesses ; and died of it, together with his mistress. Sismondi, tome 8. p. 217. We must however conclude, that the disorder was not of the same nature, as the new malady was not at first supposed to be the result of incontinence, but was believed to be an epidemic caused by an impure atmosphere.

Fracastor, born at Verona in the year 1484, has chosen this disorder as the subject of a very elegant poem in the Latin language, to which he has given the title Syphilis. "Ilceus, an inoffensive inhabitant of the pastoral scenes of Syria, afflicted with a malady of which he knows neither the cause nor the cure, prays for relief to the rural deities, and especially to Callirhoe, the nymph who is supposed to preside over a fountain remarkable for the medicinal and salubrious qualities of its waters." Callirhoe informs him that he had offended Diana by killing a sacred stag, that Apollo had sent this disease as his punishment, and that he should seek relief in a gloomy cave, into which the beams of Apollo could not reach; he follows her direction, and in this cave he is thrice bathed in that liquid metal which is still the remedy. Greswell's Mem. of Politianus, &c. p. 478, &c.

(g) It was lately stated that of ninety-six students of the Royal Academy of painters in England, six would probably be painters, and the remaining ninety apply themselves to inferior arts. Perhaps in a commercial view the six might be considered as useful chiefly in leading forward the remaining ninety to a degree of improvement, which they would not otherwise have attained, and thus indirectly benefiting manufactures.

(h) It is curious, says Sismondi, tome 4. p. 181, to compare them with the gates of the *basilica* of Saint Paul without the walls at Rome, a deformed and barbarous performance of the reign of the great Theodosius, undertaken by the first sculptors of the age, under the direction of the most powerful monarch of Christendom, with the inimitable models of antiquity on every side, but where depotism alone had been sufficient to repel civilization, and to stifle every species of genius. The gates of Saint Paul, he adds, are not sculptured in relief, but merely engraved, and the outlines of the figures are marked with silver; the workmanship seems to be a monument of the impotency of the art, though assisted by wealth. The gates of the baptistery of Florence, on the contrary, are *in alto rilievo*, distributed into compartments forming so many finished subjects, and of admirable execution.

(i) Filippo Brunelleschi, employed and patronized by Cosmo de Medici, was the first, according to Mr. Roscoe, who attempted to restore the Grecian in the place of the Gothic architecture. Life of Lorenzo, vol. 1. p. 61. Mr. Greswell however remarks, that Leo Battista Alberti, patronized by Lorenzo, had been considered as deserving the credit of this reformation, and had been accordingly deno-

minated the Florentine Vitruvius. Mem. of Politianus, &c. p. 71.

(k) "Perhaps," says Mr. Roscoe, vol. 2. p. 208, "a more involuntary homage was never paid to genius, than that which was extorted from the sculptor, Falconet, who having presumed upon all occasions to censure the style of Michelagnolo, without having had an opportunity of inspecting any of his works, at length obtained a sight of two of his statues, which were brought into France by cardinal Richelieu. *I have seen Michelagnolo*, exclaimed the French artist, *he is terrific*. The pieces which occasioned this exclamation, were two of the statues intended to compose a part of the monument of Julius II. Note.

(l) "It is well known that the works of this exquisite master form two distinct classes, those which he painted before, and those which he painted after he had caught from the new Prometheus a portion of the ethereal fire." Roscoe, vol. 2. p. 209, 210.

(m) Augsburg, Basle, Bologna, Dordrecht, Feltri, Florence, Haerlem, Lubeck, Mentz, Nuremberg, Rome, Russeburgh, Strasburgh, Schelestad, Venice, &c. Of these however Haerlem, Strasburgh, and Mentz, are entitled to the chief consideration. *Analyse des Opinions Diverses*, &c.

(n) Castaldi, Coster, Faustus, Gensfleisch,

Gresmund, Gutemberg, Ulric Han, Mentellin, Jenson, Regiomontanus, Schoeffer, Sweynheym and Pannartz, Louis de Valbeak, &c. Of these Castor, Mentellin, Gutemberg, Faustus, and Schoeffer are the most deserving of attention. Ibid.

(o) Cyprian in a treatise on Idols, and Minutius Felix in his Octavius, have said that Saturn first taught in Italy *litteras imprimere et signare nummos*. Licimander (Paneg. in laudem Typographiæ, p. 595—607, in vol. 2. of the collection of Wolf, Monum. Typogr.) describing the process attributed to Charlemagne, says that one of the books thus printed is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Ibid.

(p) Moveable characters were certainly known by the ancients, though not applied to the purpose of printing. In the treatise of Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. we find the following passage: *hic ego non mirer esse quemquam qui sibi persuadeat mundum effici ex concursione fortuitâ. Hoc qui existimet fieri potuisse, non intelligo cur non idem putet, si innumerabiles unius et viginti formæ litterarum vel aureæ, vel qualeslibet, aliquo conjiciantur, posse ex his in terram excussis annales Ennii, ut deinceps legi possint, effici.* Quintilian, Instit. Orat. lib. 1. cap. 1. recommends for the instruction of children *eburneas litterarum formas in lulum offer-*

re. Ibid. The transpositions, and the inversions of letters in some ancient medals, have even given occasion to a conjecture, that they had been stamped by separate characters. So slow were men in taking the last step, to this important discovery !

LECTURE XLI.

Of the predispositions to the Reformation.

THE reformation of religion, which was effected in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, was an event of such grand and decisive importance in the modern history of Europe, that we might expect to discover, in the antecedent arrangements of the European system, various tendencies towards it, preparing and facilitating the crisis, which in its proper time distinct causes afterwards actually produced. It affected the several parts of that system, and their mutual relations, too generally and too intimately, to allow us to regard it as a modification entirely new, superinduced by extrinsic causes on a political system not previously disposed to receive it; and indeed if there be any combination in the events of the modern history of Europe, we should hope to perceive unequivocal vestiges of it in predisposing the system to a revolution, which constitutes an epoch in its political, not less than in its religious interests. It is accord-

ingly the purpose of this lecture to examine the previous arrangements of the modern states of Europe, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any remarkable predispositions to such an event can be observed to have existed.

In this enquiry I shall have occasion to direct your attention to opinions rejected by the reformed churches themselves as erroneous and heretical, nor am I at all disposed to contend in their defence ; but it is the high prerogative of an all-wise and almighty ruler of the world to render the errors, as well as the vices of his creatures, instrumental to the attainment of his gracious purposes ; and if we would maintain that a genuine reformation of religion could not have in any degree arisen from any other than pure principles of faith and practice, we should be prepared also to deny, that the vices of mankind have ever been turned aside from their natural tendency to misery and ruin, so as even to operate, though indirectly, to the benefit of the world. It is indeed consolatory to observe such tendencies to good in causes fitted naturally but for the production of evil. Unable as we feel ourselves fully to comprehend the origin of physical and moral evil in a system created by a being of infinite perfections, we must be comforted with the reflection, that in his moral government vice and

error have been overruled to work the effects of the very principles, to which they are naturally opposed, while the physical calamities of life serve to exercise and discipline our intellectual and moral energies.

The translator of Mosheim's history has * observed that, in our account of the existence of our religion antecedent to the time of Luther, we may gratify the taste of the Roman Catholics for tradition and human authority, by urging that it had previously existed in the vallies of Piedmont; and it is certain that the inhabitants of these vallies maintained a steady opposition to all the grosser corruptions of the church of Rome, and agreed in many particulars with the leaders of the Reformation. It is obvious that these early separatists from the Roman church owed their safety and independence to the local circumstances of the vallies in which they were sheltered. These (a) have been described by Leger, the historian of the churches of Piedmont, as singularly accommodated to such a purpose; our eternal God, says he, speaking of the principal valley, who had destined this country to be in an especial degree the theatre of his wonders, and the asylum of his religion, has naturally and wonderfully fortified it. Indeed it appears to have been secured by its sterility,

* Eccles. Hist. vol. 3. p. 123. Lond. 1782.

as well as by its fastnesses ; for * it was soon discovered that to banish from them the schismatics who had there sought protection, would be to condemn to barrenness the places which only the industry of a population collected by a principle so powerful could render productive. If we farther consider that such a natural asylum for oppressed separatists was placed on the common frontier of Italy the country of the papal power, and of France the central and primary member of the western system, its adaptation to the purpose of sheltering and cherishing the seeds of a future reformation, will appear still more remarkable. This local disposition then of the vallies of Piedmont I consider as a primordial arrangement preparatory to the great moral change, which in the sixteenth century of the Christian era was effected by the piety and the energy of a monk of Germany.

But rude mountains and retired vallies, however favourable they may be to simplicity of manners and to independence of spirit, are not fitted to favour that mental improvement, which bursts the fetters of habit and prejudice, and by a bold effort of reformation establishes an epoch in the history of the progress of mankind. It is only amidst the collisions

* Hist. Gen. des Eglises Vaud. par Leger, partie 1. p. 158. Leyde 1669.

of a crowded society that the powers of the human mind can be thus awakened and excited. In wildness and solitude the imagination is indeed aroused by the stupendous majesty of nature, but the reasonings of the understanding are little exercised, and the agitations of the passions are little experienced; opinions accordingly become traditional from one generation to another, and an inflexible adherence to ancient usages is the prevailing characteristic. That the fastnesses of Piedmont were not fitted to originate a religious revolution, is indeed plainly proved by the circumstances of the Reformation, as it was effected in the neighbouring country of Swisserland, in which the people of the forest-cantons, with the tenacity of mountaineers, continued to maintain the religion which they had received from their fathers, notwithstanding that their brethren of the low-land districts had generally embraced the new doctrines of Zuinglius. While therefore we regard the vallies of Piedmont as an asylum naturally provided for sheltering and protecting a body of separatists from the church of Rome, until the west should have become generally prepared for the struggles of the Reformation, it is still necessary to enquire, whether any circumstances are discoverable in the earlier part of the modern history of Europe, which prepared and dis-

posed a sufficient number of separatists to seek refuge in these almost inviolable retreats. If such circumstances did indeed exist, these solitudes, though they were not fitted to prompt the first thought of separation, would however cherish the traditional opposition of the fugitives through successive generations, and preserve from age to age the principles of a future reformation.

The immediate occasion indeed of the separation from the church of Rome we can trace with sufficient distinctness in the records of history. And it is remarkable that the same occasion, which decided the separation of the churches of Piedmont, and thereby laid the foundation of the great religious revolution of the west, should also have been that which gave being to the independence of the papacy, and to the restoration of the ancient empire, thus serving at once to prepare the original combinations, from which were afterwards gradually developed all the various arrangements of the ecclesiastical and political interests of Europe. The operations of man, limited and imperfect as their author, have each some single object, which it attains with difficulty and uncertainty; but those of God, extended through a boundless universe, fulfil at once a vast variety of the purposes of his wisdom.

The fourth century, which was the age of

the public establishment of our religion, was also the age in which it began to be corrupted by that very paganism, which Constantine seemed to have for ever proscribed; the * ceremonies and processions of the heathen ritual were adopted into that of the Christians, the worship of the heathen idols was by degrees transferred to the Christian martyrs, and painting began to be employed to exhibit to the senses the objects of adoration. This † last abuse, which continually encreased, became to Jews and Saracens a subject of vehement reproaches; and their censures ‡ may have contributed to alienate from the prevailing devotion the emperor Leo the Isaurian, himself probably too rude to be much affected by the elegant arts. In the year 726 an edict was accordingly issued by this emperor for the suppression of a practice, so inconsistent with the simple and spiritual character of Christian worship; but the party which favoured the worship of images, or rather of pictures, was numerous and powerful, and a violent schism arose, which at the end of sixty-one years terminated in the triumph of the idolaters. When this contest had begun, the Roman pontiff espoused the cause of image-worship,

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* Mosheim, vol. 1. p. 365, 366. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 261.

‡ Decline and Fall, &c. vol. 5. p. 105.

renounced his allegiance to the Greek emperor, and sought among the French that support, which he found necessary for resisting the attacks of the Lombards. The French however, though they supported the pontiff against the Lombards, did not implicitly adopt his sentiments on the subject of images. The abuse had in Greece been the offspring of the lively fancy of an ingenious and elegant people, and was cherished in Rome as an expedient of sacerdotal influence; but the simplicity of the conquerors of Gaul was not easily reconciled to a practice, which * was not at all congenial to their ancient habits. Charlemagne convened at Frankfort a synod, which condemned the worship of images, and in the name of this prince a treatise was addressed to the Roman pontiff, maintaining the same sentiments. Among those † who strenuously resisted the introduction of idolatry was Claude, one of the most confidential counsellors of Charlemagne, who in the year 815 was at the desire of Lewis the Debonair constituted archbishop of Turin: the appointment of such a prelate to a see which comprehended the vallies of Piedmont, is naturally considered by the historian of the sectaries of Piedmont as the epoch of their alienation from the church of Rome. Subsequent prelates indeed con-

* De Moribus Germ. cap. 9. † Leger, partie 1. p. 132.

formed to the practice of that church, and the mass of the people, it may be supposed, would follow their example; but many would retain, and transmit to their descendants the principles of a purer worship, and would naturally seek refuge in fastnesses, in which the hand of persecution could not easily reach them.

The doctrines of these primitive Protestants have been traced back as far as (b) the year 1100, * at which time they appear to have been sufficiently orthodox. The earlier Burgundians were indeed all Arians, as were all the German nations except the Franks; but as Burgundy † became permanently united with the dominions of the Franks so early as the year 534, it may be supposed that every trace of the original heterodoxy of that country had been effaced in the interval between that event and the advancement of Claude, so that the traditional doctrines of the vallies might have been, even from the beginning of the alienation which he is supposed to have excited, conformable to the tenets of the general church. Here then we find an arrangement for providing a succession of genuine Christians, to be the stock of a future regeneration of the religion from which it had sprung, sheltered in

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* Leger, p. 58, &c.

† Daniel, tome 1. p. 64.

a place which seems to have been formed by nature for this special purpose, until a season should return which might be favourable to its vegetation, and other causes might engraft on it new and more vigorous principles of reformation.

How necessary to the preservation of the genuine tradition of religion were the exertions of Claude, and the secure seclusion of the vallies of Piedmont, may be judged from the fate which it experienced in the neighbouring country of Swisserland, not very dissimilarly circumstanced. In (c) the chronicle of the abbey of Corvey, which appears to have been written about the beginning of the twelfth century, we find it recorded, that there was then, and had long been in the Alps, a race of simple men, who committed their bibles to memory, and rejected as modern and unauthorized the existing usages of the church. Yet we know that in the religious struggle of the sixteenth century, the forest-cantons, with all their simplicity, adhered to the church of Rome, while the Reformation was established in the other districts, which were more accessible to the influence of foreign opinions. The mere simplicity therefore of a mountainous region was not sufficient for the preservation of religious truth, nor indeed can the ignorance of mere simplicity be safe from the seductions of

superstition : for this it was necessary that a separation should be maintained by the adverse spirit of refugees, who had been driven to seek their safety in the fastnesses, of nature, and as the archbishop excited the spirit, so did the vallies of Piedmont furnish the asylum.

But though an original provision appears thus to have been made for securing a small number of Christians, whose religious principles should be untainted, other arrangements appear also to have been made for giving to this little party that exterior support of numbers, which their narrow asylum could not admit. As however these auxiliaries were not protected by those natural defences, which secured the inhabitants of the vallies of Piedmont, they would have been exposed to the danger of being confounded in the prevailing corruptions of the church, if they had not been as effectually separated by the moral distinction of heterodox doctrine. Heresy therefore, and this of two different kinds, appears to have constituted the coarse and rough integument, which protected the feeble germ of religious improvement. The historian of the Roman empire * appears to have delighted in tracing exclusively to one of these classes of heretics the origin of the great revolution of our religion ; and the facts on

* Decline and Fall, &c. ch. 54.

which he has relied, may all be admitted : but those who know and condemn his unhappy prepossession, will not be surprised when they learn, that in such a case he looked no farther than the surface of historic truth, and has accordingly given an account of the causes of this important event, which is partial and defective.

It has been stated in * an early lecture of this course, that the Franks alone of the German conquerors of the empire embraced from the beginning the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, that of Arius having been adopted in particular by the Goths and Lombards. In Lombardy the near influence of Rome appears to have gradually succeeded in suppressing the obnoxious doctrine of the Alexandrine hæresiarch ; but in the south-eastern provinces of France, which (*d*) long maintained an almost entire independence, the heretical tenet continued to support a principle of opposition down to the time, when the reason of Europe began to be rescued from the stupid insensibility of barbarism, and the accumulated abuses of the Romish church, which had been the work of that dark and ignorant period, began to offend both the understanding and the moral feeling of mankind, and to challenge resistance. Nor did the doctrine of Arius supply a mere prin-

* Lecture 7.

ciple of dissent and separation. A sect, whose principle it was to reduce the interpretation of scriptural doctrine as much as possible to the standard of their own reason, were naturally disposed to give free exercise to their reasoning powers, and thus to cherish in their minds a spirit of hardy independence, which would necessarily be hostile to the abuses of a superstitious and corrupt establishment.

While the descendants of the Gothic Arians found an almost undisturbed retreat in the southern provinces of France, causes remote and peculiar sent into the same country from the distant region of Armenia another sect, whose principles appear to have received a deep tincture from the ancient philosophy of the east, as those of the Arians were coloured by the philosophy of Greece. The two subjects on which the human mind is naturally most disposed to speculate, are the nature of the divine Being and the administration of his moral government, for we must naturally be solicitous to form as distinct a conception as possible, both of the great Being on whom we entirely depend, and of the exercise of that providence of which we are ourselves the object. The former of these considerations occupied the attention of Plato, whose notions (*e*) even bore a remarkable resemblance to the scriptural doctrine of the Trinity, and therefore admitted

an easy combination with the simple truths of the sacred records of our religion: the latter occupied (*f*) from a remote period the theologians of the east; and though the solution which they devised for the great difficulty of the origin of evil, is abhorrent from the Christian conception of a supreme and almighty ruler, as it introduces a distinct and independent principle, from which all evil was derived, yet their doctrine was at first forced into an unnatural union with the tenets of the Gospel, and was afterwards so modified, as to be not very repugnant to those scriptural exhortations, which urge us to mortify the propensities of the flesh. In the selection of these subjects of religious enquiry it seems as if the difference of the Asiatic and European characters had exercised an influence, the passive minds of the orientals having been disposed to regard evil, whether moral or physical, as the result of some overruling constitution of nature, of which man was but the subject, and the ardent activity of European philosophy considering the attainment even of the greatest good as placed within the attainment of human exertion, and looking rather to the nature of the deity himself as the object of research. However this may have been, the grand enquiry among the sages of the east has related to the origin of evil; and unable to compre-

hend that it could have received its existence from the same Being who was the author of good, they limited their notion of the power of this Being that they might vindicate his goodness, and supposed the existence of another independent principle, to which the origin of vice and misery might be fitly ascribed.

The oriental philosophy was naturally that which first corrupted the simple truths of Christianity, which was first promulgated in the east, and was long despised and neglected by the reasoners of Europe. The * Gnostic sects, so denominated from their vain pretension to a superior knowledge of divine things, were accordingly formed even in the first century of the Christian era, and noticed in the apostolic writings; whereas Origen, who † first introduced the admixture of the Grecian philosophy in the interpretation of the sacred scriptures, flourished in the third. These sects, which referred to a principle of evil the Jewish dispensation, together with the creation of the world, and rejected not only the belief of a resurrection of our corporeal frames, but also the reality of that human form which had been assumed by our Redeemer, and consequently the reality of the sufferings

* Mosheim, cent. 1. part 2. ch. 5.
part 2. ch. 3.

† Ibid. cent. 3.

which he had undergone in our nature, had * sunk under the united efforts of the Christians and the Platonic philosophers, when Manes, a † Persian of the province of Babylon or Chaldea, who was born in the year 240, undertook to form a new combination of Christianity with the philosophy of his country. For effecting this purpose (*g*) he assumed to himself the character of that Comforter, whom Jesus had promised to his followers, applied to our Lord the characters and actions which the Persians attributed to their god Mithras, and rejecting (*h*) almost all the sacred books of our religion, he boldly supplied their place with a new gospel, filled with the reveries of his own imagination. The sect of Manes did not indeed enjoy a long prosperity, for it was overpowered by the combined hostility of the followers of Christ and of Zoroaster, who were equally incensed at the attempted coalition of their tenets, and Manes was himself put to death, probably to gratify the Magi.

Though Manicheism was too extravagant to maintain itself long in the minds of men, a moderated doctrine of the same kind was generated from it, which extended itself from Armenia into western Europe, and subsisted

* Mosheim, cent. 3. part 2. ch. 5.

† Hist. de Manichée par Reausobre, tome 1. p. 65. Amst. 1734. Mosh. cent. 3. part 2. ch. 5.

there even to the thirteenth century. The sect of the Paulicians * had its origin in Armenia in the year 659, when a deacon, who had been a prisoner among the Saracens in Syria, was returning home through that country, and having been kindly entertained by an obscure Armenian of the Manichean sect, requited the generosity of his host by presenting him with two manuscripts, which he had brought out of Syria, the Gospels and the epistles of Saint Paul. The Armenian, struck by the force of truth, rejected his Manichean doctrines for Christianity, but secretly influenced by the very notions which he felt himself bound to renounce, he incorporated (i) many of them with his profession of the religion of Christ, and thus became the founder of a new sect of heretics, who received their appellation from one Paulus a proselyte, and probably cherished it with a secret reference to the name of the apostle, whose epistles they especially revered. Violently persecuted by the imperial court of Constantinople, this sect was transplanted from Asia into Thraee, whence they penetrated into Bulgaria; and in the eleventh century, having been again attacked in Thrace, they migrated through Hungary and Bavaria, following † the course of the Danube, then a

* Petrus Siculus, *Bibl. Mag. Pat.* tom. 16. p. 814—825.

† Hallam, vol. 2. p. 528.

great channel of the commerce of Constantinople, or took the route of Lombardy into Swisserland and France. The Albigenses, who received their appellation from Albi a town of Languedoc, appear to have sprung from these Paulicians, and to have retained much of their peculiar opinions; it has even been stated by M. Paris, that they acknowledged an antipope or primate, who was established on the borders of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, the country into which these had penetrated from Thrace. The records of the Romish Inquisition, by which they were persecuted in common with the Waldenses, sufficiently prove that an important distinction existed between the two sects, and that, while the Waldenses were attacked rather as enemies of the temporal aggrandisement of the church, the Albigenses were opposed as adversaries of its faith, as well as of its establishments. The errors of their faith were such however as had a natural tendency to render the Albigenses hostile to the corrupt practices of that church, as they were studious of those parts of the sacred scriptures which they exclusively respected, and under the influence of their Manichean principles regarded as a duty the observance of an austere mortification, and rejected the adoration of the cross and the worship of the Virgin.

Protestant writers have been solicitous to

prove that the Albigenses have been traduced by their adversaries of the Romish church, and were really a sect professing the pure principles of genuine Christianity. The historian of the Roman empire on the other hand has appeared to be desirous of representing the Reformation simply as the progeny of a Manichean heresy, having sprung exclusively from the Albigenses, and these having received their opinions through the Paulicians from the followers of Manes. The historian is indeed sufficiently correct in his statement of the origin and the tenets of the Albigenses, but no inference can be more fallacious than that, which would therefore involve the Reformation in the obloquy of a Manichean original. Three (*k*) different sects appear to have been engaged in the resistance, which the abuses of the Romish church encountered in the twelfth century; the Waldenses, the Arians, and the Albigenses: of these the Waldenses appear to have been irreproachable in doctrine, and entitled to be considered as the true fathers of Protestantism; the Arian descendants of the Goths, and the Paulician sect of the Albigenses, were auxiliaries indeed, but united in the common cause only by the hostility which they waged against a common enemy. Among themselves these various sects, however combined in their opposition to Rome, were by no

means united, the Waldenses strenuously maintaining their own orthodox opinions against the Arians on the one part, and on the other against the Albigenses. Still the common war was waged with vigour; and while the Waldenses combated their adversaries with the persuasive force of simple truth, the Arians encountered them with the confidence of human reasoning, and the Albigenses with the imposing austerity of Manichean mortification.

While the vallies of Piedmont constituted a strong hold for the security of the main body of the Waldenses, the south-eastern provinces of France were fitted for receiving and cherishing the remainder of the sect with their heretical allies, by that political independence which they continued to enjoy, until the time had come when the dispersion of these sectaries could propagate in a more favourable soil the seeds of religious reformation. This dispersion began * in the year 1180, when Peter Waldo of Lyons, who probably had derived the surname of Waldo from that of the sect to which he belonged, was driven from his home by the persecution of the Roman pontiff and the archbishop of Lyons, and compelled to seek a retreat first in the Netherlands and Picardy, and finally in Bohemia. In

* Hist. des Eglises Evang. des Vallées de Piedmont, par Leger, ch. 25. p. 156. Leyde, 1669.

this country he and his followers assisted in preparing the people for the preaching of Huss; and it has accordingly been expressly stated, that the Bohemian churches, while they acknowledged that Huss had been excited by the writings of Wicliffe, considered themselves as having received their principles more immediately from the Waldenses. The final dispersion of the sectaries of the south-eastern provinces of France was effected about half a century afterwards. Raymond VI. earl of Tholouse, had * particularly distinguished himself by the protection which he afforded to them, and thus drew upon himself the vengeance of the Roman pontiff Innocent III, who accordingly in the year 1206 despatched his legates to crush the rising heresies. From this commencement was gradually formed the execrable tribunal of the Inquisition, which was completed by the succeeding pontiff in the year 1233; the only sure support of a system, which denies to mankind the liberty of thought on that subject, in which every individual is most deeply interested. The original Waldenses of the vallies of Piedmont however * retained a sort of supremacy over their brethren, who were scattered through the neighbouring countries, being respected as the primitive congregations of the sect: to these

* Leger, liv. 1. ch. 32.

vallies accordingly, as to a university, those who were intended for holy orders were sent to study their profession ; and from them missionaries were occasionally sent even into distant countries, to form new churches, or visit and superintend those which had been already constituted.

The Grecian and the oriental philosophy have been shown to have each contributed to strengthen, by the support of two very different heresies, that resistance which the simple orthodoxy of the Waldenses opposed to the abuses of the Romish church. If it should now appear that the false religion of Mahomet may also claim to have exercised some influence in assisting the reformation of corrupted Christianity, it will present a curious and interesting view of the extensive and various combinations of the divine government. That religion, it * has been well observed, has been from its commencement the unceasing censor of the perversions of the Christian faith. Just when the religion of Christ was sinking under its manifold corruptions, a false religion was established in the world with distinguished celebrity, which opposed the utmost simplicity of worship to the superstitions of a paganzed ritual, its leading tenet of the unity of the divine nature to the deification of the

* Turner's Hist. of England, vol. 2. p. 374, &c.

Virgin with a crowd of other saints, and the almost total absence of a priesthood to the establishment of a numerous opulent and domineering hierarchy. That the doctrines of that religion excited the curiosity of Christians is sufficiently proved by the fact, that in the twelfth century a French abbot, the friend of Saint Bernard, translated the Koran: the prohibition which forbade Christians to serve in the ships of the Saracens, authorises us to conclude, that the mutual alienation of the people of the two religions was then considerably diminished: and the injunctions of the Roman see, forbidding Saracens to have Christian slaves, and requiring them to pay tithes, indicate that they were resident in countries, in which the papal authority was acknowledged. The wars indeed and the commercial intercourse, which brought these two great classes of mankind into combination, formed a sufficient communication for conveying the influence of opinion from the one to the other, especially in the case of religion, in which all were deeply concerned, and the two classes were so obviously contrasted: and we actually observe that, when the religion of Mahomet had been established in Spain, reforming opinions abounded in its vicinity, and were widely diffused, with a strong dissatisfaction at the wealth, pomp, and luxury of the papal hier-

archy. Nor was this influence of the Spanish Mahometans the mere result of vicinity and the intercourses of war and commerce, for the sciences, which they eagerly cultivated, drew among them inquisitive men from every part of Europe, and these, when they had returned to their homes, were forward in propagating among their countrymen new ideas on the subject of religion and ecclesiastical establishments. Gerbert, one of these students, and himself afterwards a pope, was in the year 990 so strongly impressed with such opinions, that he proclaimed the pontiff to be Anti-Christ, "the man of sin" mentioned in the epistle to the Thessalonians: from the schools in France, which he instituted, came Berenger, who in the succeeding age attacked the great papal doctrine of transubstantiation: and the schoolmen, whose disputations, vain as they were in themselves, roused from its sleep of ignorance the intellect of Europe, received their arguments and their habits of contention from the Arabian metaphysicians. In the eastern empire also an intercourse with the Arabs probably contributed to excite the emperor Leo to the destruction of the images, which had been introduced into the Christian churches, and thus may have, on the other hand, indirectly and eventually contributed to that separation of the eastern and western churches,

which gave a beginning to the independence of the papacy, with all those enormous abuses which provoked the efforts of reformation.

This false religion, which thus appears to have been fitted to exercise generally a beneficial influence in correcting the abuses of that which was true and genuine, appears also to have had a direct and special connection with those several arrangements which have been particularised, as predisposing the western Christians to the reformation of their church. Claude, archbishop of Turin, from whose strenuous condemnation of image-worship the separation of the Waldenses has been with probability derived, was a native of Spain, and therefore probably influenced in this measure by his familiarity with the anti-idolatrous Saracens of that country; and the sect of the Paulicians, which gave being to that of the Albigenses, was formed in Armenia, when the Saracens had become masters of the neighbouring country of Syria, and a deacon, who had in the latter been a prisoner among the Saracens, was returning home through the former, and was entertained by an inquisitive Manichean. The Arians also, though their tenets appear to have been transmitted to them from the Gothic conquerors of the empire, must have felt themselves supported by the vicinity of those, who would acknowledge in

our Saviour only a prophetic character. All those too, who were offended by the gross and multiplied abuses of the Romish church, would be more loud and strenuous in their protestations; when they found themselves in almost the presence of men, whose religion seems as if it had been specially contrived to expose the corruptions, by which that church was disfigured and debased.

Though the church of Greece was not fitted to exercise any direct influence in promoting the reformation of that of the west, being itself so grievously degenerate as to require to be depressed by the Turkish dominion, yet some collateral influence has been * already traced to it, as it affected the minds of those, who inhabited the common border of the two districts, in which the supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople and that of the Roman pontiff were respectively acknowledged. Bohemia had been converted to Christianity about the middle of the ninth century by missionaries of the Greek church; and though the connection formed afterwards with the Germanic empire, tended to subject it to the authority of the papal see, the rules of the Greek church continued to be observed in it about a century and a half: the Roman ritual began then to be adopted, and during about two centuries Bohemia

* Vol. 4. p. 33, 34.

fluctuated between the two systems. Near the close of the twelfth century, while the Bohemians were in this uncertain state of religious observance, the Waldenses, driven by persecution from Lyons, arrived among them, and found their minds well prepared to listen to their representations of the abuses of the Romish church. The Greek church had long been distracted by doctrinal dissensions, and was also disgraced by a gaudy and idolatrous ceremonial, but (1) in two important particulars it had however been preserved from the grosser corruptions of the religious system of the west ; it permitted the liturgy to be performed in the vernacular language of each of the countries which received its tenets, and in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper it administered the cup as well as the bread to the laity. To these peculiarities, which obviously presented themselves to the notice of the most illiterate minds, the Bohemians had been long exclusively accustomed, and down to the arrival of the Waldenses the lower classes of the people still adhered to them, probably with increased attachment on account of the efforts employed to establish the regulations of the Romish church. In such a people the fugitives found many well disposed to embrace their sentiments of opposition to Rome ; and

it is expressly stated by * Mosheim, that the Waldenses of Bohemia associated themselves with the party of separatists formed by the preaching of Huss in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

It was natural that a country, in which such materials of resistance had been prepared, should become the scene of the earliest struggle of continental reformation. Accordingly a century before Luther, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, having (*m*) had their zeal excited by the writings of Wicliffe, the English patriarch of religious reform, preached openly in Bohemia the necessity of a formal separation from the see of Rome. Nor was this a (*n*) transient effort speedily and effectually suppressed; for in this same country, a century after Luther, arose from the same cause that memorable war of thirty years, which terminated in the treaty of Westphalia, the grand adjustment of the political interests of the west.

To these general considerations of predisposing causes must be added that of the personal character of one celebrated individual, whose authority, acknowledged in the Romish church, afforded a powerful support to the leaders of the Reformation. The existence of an individual so peculiarly characterised as Augustine, occurring as it did in the latter part of the

* Cent. 4. part 2. ch. 3.

fourth century, just as those corruptions were beginning to prevail, against which in the days of the Reformation his doctrine of justification was found to be the most effectual antidote, may surely be regarded as an event deserving attention in an examination of the causes of that great revolution. The doctrine of Augustine, not disavowed as the faith of that church when it was not yet too much perverted by the vain contrivances of priestcraft to consider all human efforts as insufficient for salvation, remained through the dark ages of ignorance a beacon to warn the reflecting from the errors of superstitious observances ; and among the friars of the Augustinian order at last was found the man, who boldly and successfully arraigned the fallacy of the system, which had substituted these observances for the genuine means of salvation. The great question indeed between the reformers and the Romanists was, whether a man could attain salvation by the various devices of superstition and priestcraft, or should depend only on the merits and the intercession of Christ. Fortunately for the reformers it happened that this father, acknowledged and revered in the church of their adversaries, had long before established the doctrine, that merely human efforts, even of moral righteousness, must be wholly unavailing, and the principle applied itself with yet greater force to the

numerous observances, which had been substituted by the priesthood for the reasonable service of a Christian.

This eminent man was born in the Roman province of Africa, and appears to have inherited all the vehemence of character, which is supposed to belong to the inhabitants of that region. In his youth his ardent spirit, gratified with their pretended solution of moral difficulties, engaged him in the heresy of the Manicheans, to which he continued attached during several years, until he was at length recalled to the orthodox faith by the sermons of Ambrose, which he heard at Milan. With the zeal of a proselyte he then became a champion of the church against the heresy which he had been persuaded to abandon, arguing strenuously in this controversy for the freedom of the human will in opposition to the fatalism of the Manicheans, who * represented every man as possessed of two souls, the one derived from the evil principle, and therefore necessarily doomed to destruction, while the other, having sprung from the good principle, was as certainly destined to happiness. Early however in the fifth century he felt himself called to another controversy by the very different heresy of Pelagius, a British monk, who † maintained that our nature had experienced no corruption,

* Beausobre, *Hist. de Manichéisme*, tome 2. p. 420. Amst. 1739.
 † Mosheim, cent. 5. part 2. ch. 5.

and required not any internal assistance of the divine spirit for attaining to the highest degrees of piety and virtue, though by external grace it might be usefully excited to exertion. Pelagius, who had gone into Palestine, was protected by the influence of the bishop of Jerusalem; whose attachment to the sentiments of Origen disposed him to countenance the new doctrine, and he was even declared by the Roman pontiff to be sound in the faith; but Augustine, at the head of the bishops of Africa, was steady in his opposition, the pontiff was induced by his representations to relinquish the opinion which he had pronounced, and the doctrine of Pelagius was condemned and suppressed by the authority of the Roman see. In this other controversy Augustine attacked the freedom of the human will as strenuously, as he had before maintained it against Manichean fatalism, and was hurried into the use of language, which was understood to imply, that God had predestinated, not only the punishment of sinners, but also the crimes for which it was to be inflicted; this interpretation of his doctrine however he vehemently denied, and employed all his influence in procuring its rejection.

The inconsistencies observable in the writings of Augustine have afforded a subject of animadversion to the adversaries of the modern Cal-

vinists, who on the other hand attribute them to the successive discoveries of a mind candidly searching after the truth, and advancing gradually in the acquisition of religious knowledge. The case seems to have been, that the eager mind of this prelate was (a) more intent on confuting an adverse opinion, than on moderating and guarding its own ; and that, as he encountered adversaries of very different descriptions, he was naturally betrayed into the use of contradictory expressions. In his controversy with Pelagius he has plainly advanced beyond the principles of Ambrose, who had converted him from Manicheism, for the latter (p) has distinctly referred the decrees of God, in regard to the future punishment of the wicked, to his foreknowledge of their conduct, whereas Augustine * has declared, that in the work of conversion and sanctification all was to be attributed to a divine energy, and nothing to human agency.

The doctrine of Augustine is the substance of modern Calvinism ; and whatever may be deemed of its scriptural soundness, the reformers enjoyed a manifest and very considerable advantage in being enabled to turn it against their adversaries: the council of Trent condemned as heretical the doctrine of Calvin, but it could never be forgotten that the

* Mosheim, vol. 2. p. 93. Lond. 1782.

church of Rome, which claims to be infallible and unchangeable, had already acknowledged the same doctrine as inculcated by Augustine. The same doctrine has even been maintained within the Roman church itself, first by * Baius a doctor in the university of Louvain, and afterwards by Jansenius bishop of Ypres, the latter of whom has been followed by a numerous party among the Roman Catholics of France, from him denominated Jansenists.

The Pelagian controversy, which provoked Augustine to maintain his doctrine, extended over the whole Christian world, having been agitated in Jerusalem, and in an Ephesian council, as well as in Rome, in Africa, in Gaul, and in Britain. In the Greek church Jerome was sufficiently exasperated against the heresiarch, to traduce his moral character, though it was such that it received the commendation of his great adversary Augustine; but not hurried into an extreme opinion with the champion of the western church, he † contended for the freedom of the human will, admitting an appointment founded on prescience, not an absolute determination of the Almighty. The difference may be best explained by that of the Grecian philosophy, naturally prevalent in

* Mosheim, vol. 4. p. 235; vol. 5. p. 205.

† Refutation of Calvinism by the Bishop of Lincoln, p. 383. Lond. 1812.

both the churches of Europe, and of the Manichean tenets, which had during * almost nine years maintained a firm hold of the mind of Augustine. The Greek philosophers not having concerned themselves with the question of the origin of evil, the Greek church did not at all, nor the Latin church before Augustine, enter deeply into the enquiry concerning the corruption of human nature. This enquiry was however the special subject of the philosophy of the east; and though Augustine had at length renounced the Manichean sect, and argued against its tenets, it may easily be conceived that opinions so long cherished may have manifested a still subsisting influence over his mind, when he found it necessary to encounter the opposite heresy of Pelagius. The Manichean doctrine, that one of the two souls of every man is naturally evil, and therefore doomed to everlasting destruction, was indeed different from the later doctrine of Augustine, which taught a distinction of two classes of mankind arising from the free determination of God, not from any inherent necessity of nature; but he may nevertheless have been prepared by his Manichean opinions for contemplating without repugnance such a separation of individuals as should consign to inevitable perdition a portion of his species. As the western church, alarmed by

* Lardner's Works, vol. 3. p. 392. Lond. 1788.

the heresy of Pelagius, acquiesced in the sentiments of his successful adversary, instead of continuing to maintain its former moderation, a doctrine, which Calvin himself (*q*) has ingenuously acknowledged to be "a horrible decree," obtained an authority in it, which could not afterwards be disowned without perplexity. It would be more agreeable to believe that the cause of the Reformation might have been sustained without the assistance of this extreme opinion; but in the actual operations of the human mind, as they present themselves in the real world, we see that one extreme opinion is encountered by the contrary influence of its opposite, and that the middle path of moderation can be pursued only by the aid of their mutually countervailing activity, as the planet preserves his due distance from the central body by the reciprocal counteraction of the centripetal and the centrifugal forces.

While all this various enginery was prepared for shaking the dominion of the papacy, that dominion was itself subjected to the action of interior causes of decay, which enfeebled its resistance. In the thirteenth century it had attained its greatest prosperity, which * may indeed be considered as having been continued though the whole of that age, having begun with Innocent III. and ended with Boniface

* Hallam, vol. 2. p. 63.

VIII. The former of these two pontiffs was successful in ruining the Swabian dynasty of the German empire; another, who enjoyed the papacy in the intermediate period, attempted, though in vain, to transfer the crown of Aragon from the reigning family to a prince of France; and Boniface, extending the pretensions of his see beyond the countries with which it might be considered as politically connected, arrogated the character of lord paramount of Scotland, under the pretence of rescuing it from the arms of Edward I. Innocent indeed, whose papacy began that century, had been * successful in accomplishing the three great enterprises of papal ambition: he first of the pontiffs acquired a dominion over Rome and the central parts of Italy; by the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and the submission of Bulgaria and Armenia, he attained the supremacy of the whole Christian church; and he realised, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, the bold pretension of Gregory VII. to the general control of princes, asserting to the papacy the same superiority over their power, which the great luminary of the day maintains over the lesser luminaries of the night. But this ecclesiastical aggrandisement contained within itself principles of dissolution even more than political empires, as its consist-

* Hallam, vol. 2. p. 57.

ency and strength were entirely dependent on opinion. The wealth and pomp and ambition of the hierarchy offended the good sense and the piety of the laity, and even incurred the severe reproaches of the mendicant orders of the ecclesiastics; the papal power became at length the object of the great schism, which was begun in the year 1376, and during fifty years exhibited to the astonished nations of the west two, or even three pontiffs, denouncing their anathemas in their mutual contention; and the clergy were generally alienated from the see of Rome by the partiality which was there manifested for the mendicant orders, by the continually encreasing usurpations of that see on the rights of ecclesiastical patronage, and by its oppressive demands of money, which was sought as the revenue of its spiritual empire.

It seems indeed that * the temporal dominion of Rome, first fully established by Innocent III, enfeebled the spiritual influence of the papacy, by exhibiting it as a political power engaged in the ordinary contentions of ambition, and employing the ordinary measures of aggression or resistance. In the three centuries which have succeeded the Reformation, in which the Roman pontiffs could hope only to maintain a certain ecclesiastical preeminence

* Hallam, vol. 2. p. 122, 123.

over a part of the nations of Europe, the possession of the Roman principality has certainly maintained the dignity of the papacy, by preserving the pontiff from becoming dependent on any particular sovereign ; but in earlier times, when a spiritual empire was raised on the basis of religious opinion, an abstraction from temporal ambition, in a nominal dependence on the empire, was more favourable to the ambition of the pontiffs than a direct engagement in the politics of Italy. This part then of the successful enterprises of Innocent III. appears to have acted with a double influence on the papacy, one immediate and the other remote, but each accommodated to the circumstances of its own period, though neither was contemplated by that able and ambitious pontiff. The immediate influence of the possession of the Roman principality served to discredit the papacy as a spiritual dominion, and thus to facilitate the Reformation ; and its remote operation made provision for the independence of the papacy in those later ages, in which the formidable pretensions of a spiritual empire had been reduced to little more than a preeminence of ecclesiastical dignity. The engagement in the political interests of Italy produced indeed its natural effect, in bringing forward base and unworthy men, eager to avail themselves of the opportunity of

gratifying an intriguing ambition ; and it is accordingly observable that in the latter part of the fifteenth century the papal throne was dishonoured by the extreme profligacy of the pontiffs, especially by that of the notorious Alexander VI. From the termination of the schism, turning their attention wholly to schemes of temporal aggrandisement of themselves or their kindred, the pontiffs forgot the spiritual character, which constituted the real power of their see, and while they were caballing for their own worldly purposes, prepared the way for the Reformation.

The necessity of a reformation was at length very generally felt even by those who were not at all disposed to detach themselves from the church of Rome, and various efforts were exerted for the purpose ; but the result was such as proved the necessity of some important change of the ecclesiastical constitution of Europe. When the papal schism had outraged the religious feeling of every serious mind, a council was convened first at Pisa, and afterwards at Constance, to remedy the alarming disorder of the hierarchy. The * latter of these assemblies, which met in the year 1414, adopted very decisive measures, according to the light which it possessed ; it struck deadly blows at

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* Hallam, vol. 2. p. 106.

the supreme dominion of the papacy, but nothing was done for the general amendment of the church. Constituted on (*r*) a more democratical plan than had been observed for ages in ecclesiastical councils, this assembly proclaimed that by divine right it possessed an authority in matters of faith, and in the reformation of the church, to which even the pontiff was obliged to submit, thus denying to him his infallibility and supreme dominion, which were thenceforward to be exercised by councils convened (*s*) at stated times. This formidable assault was however eluded without much difficulty, as it was easy for the papal party to avail themselves of the jealousies of the various nations, of which the council was composed; and though the council of Basle, assembled in the year 1433, proceeded in the spirit of that of Constance to abolish various abuses of the papal authority, yet having been induced by the resistance of the pontiff to depose him from his dignity, and to renew the schism by the election of another person to the papacy, it lost the support of the princes of Europe, and frustrated the project of imposing permanent limitations on the papal power by councils periodically convened.

These councils have indeed left the world no reason for regretting the failure of such a plan. The abuses of the papal supremacy might per-

haps have been reduced, or even suppressed, but the principles of spiritual dominion would but have been transferred from an ecclesiastical sovereign to an ecclesiastical assembly, and no corruption of faith or worship would have been purified, no encroachment of clerical domination would have been restrained. The council of Constance has even rendered itself for ever infamous (*t*) by solemnly recognising the abominable principle, that no faith should be observed with Huss, by natural, divine, or human law, to the prejudice of the Catholic religion; a memorable example and demonstration of the utter insufficiency of the church of Rome to effect its own reformation. Governments (*u*) as well as councils have resisted the usurpations of the papacy, and the domestic usurpations of the clergy have also in some countries of the Romish church been moderated to a degree not incompatible with the good order of the state; but the subjugation of the human mind in all its spiritual interests was of the essence of that church, and accordingly to maintain it persecution was deemed a sacred duty, and fidelity pronounced to be a crime. Nor was this odious principle avowed only by a council, and on this one solitary occasion, but (*v*) had before been substantially established in the De-

cretals, the code of the papal dominion, and it had been expressly announced by a pontiff.

When so many causes had cooperated to constitute a numerous sect adverse to the corruptions of the Romish church, the special preservation of a small number of uncorrupted Christians, the Arian doctrine of the Goths, the Manichean tenets of the Paulicians, the anti-idolatrous spirit of the Arabian imposture, the distinctness of the usages of the Greek church, and the personal character and peculiar circumstances of Augustine; and when that church had both excited by the enormity of its abuses the displeasure of every serious mind, and by actual trial had proved its own impotency to effect a reformation which all good men desired; it pleased the almighty Ruler of the world to bring forward as the chief agent in this most important work, an obscure monk in a distant region, who was (*w*) beyond the influence of all these causes, but catching in his monastic seclusion the first glimpses of the divine light of truth, was urged by the intemperance of his adversaries to question their authority, and unintentionally to become the reformer of Europe. Perhaps in all the various combinations of the history of the world none is more remote from that which human conjecture would have anticipated, though its expediency seems sufficiently intelligible.

It would naturally be expected by those who should speculate on the most probable manner in which a future event of this kind might occur, that the change would be commenced among those, who had previously manifested the strongest spirit of resistance. Yet how evidently do we now perceive the advantage of that very different arrangement, which we could not have foreseen ! If the leader of the Reformation had arisen among the Bohemians, what could have occurred but a repetition of those violences, which a century before had distracted their country ? When however this important individual appeared first in a monastery of a distant province, remote from all the irritations of earlier struggles, and slowly emancipating himself from the thralldom of his monastic habits, he might rejoice indeed when he discovered that so many persons consented with him in the opinions, which he had been gradually led to form for himself, but he could be subject to no influence, which might excite him to forget the moderation essential to the establishment of a sound and useful reformation. The predispositions which had been considered, gave strength to the cause ; the estrangement of the leader from all their operation gave it temperance and utility.

(a) These are situated on the western side of Piedmont, and are distinguished by the names of Lucerne, Peyrouse, and Saint Martin, all opening towards the east between Exiles and Pignerol. In all these the whole number of men able to carry arms did not amount to more than four or five thousand men. Leger, liv. 1. ch. 1.

(b) This appears from an extract given by Leger of an old poem entitled *La Noble Leçon*, bearing the date of that year. Mr. Hallam, who is disposed to refer the name and origin of the Waldenses to Waldo of Lyons, rather than to the *vallies* of Piedmont, contends that the lines which bear the date, may suit with any epoch preceding the termination of the twelfth century; but they appear to be sufficiently precise:

Ben ha mil et cent ans compli entierament,
Che fu scritta loro que sen al derier temp.

Other specimens of the doctrine of the inhabitants of these vallies have been given by Leger, the dates of which precede the formation of the sect of Waldo, who began to teach in the year 1180; some of these, he tells us, are dated for the year 1120, and one for the year 1126. The translator of Mosheim thinks that Peter Waldo himself obtained his name of Waldo or Valdus,

because he had adopted the opinions of the inhabitants of the vallies, which in the language of Piedmont are called *vaur*, whence was formed the name *Voidois* for the people. The inquisitor Reinerus Sacco, he remarks, lived but about eighty years after Valdus of Lyons, and yet speaks of the Leonists, his followers so named from the city of Lyons, as a sect which had flourished more than five hundred years, and even mentions authors of credit, who trace them back to the age of the apostles. Mosh. Eccl. Hist. vol. 3. p. 123, note.

The doctrine and discipline of the churches, which subsisted in the vallies of Piedmont, experienced a change in consequence of two events, which occurred in the year 1630; one of these was a dreadful pestilence, which destroyed all their ministers except two superannuated men, the other that the king of France in that year became master of these vallies. By both these events, but principally by the former, as it therefore became necessary to supply the vacancies of the ministry with Frenchmen, and chiefly with Genevese, the churches were conformed to the system of Geneva. Leger, liv. 1. p. 206, 207. These churches having been reduced to great distress by a series of unfavourable seasons, as well as by the most violent persecution, Oliver Cromwell, in concurrence with the government of

the United Provinces, appropriated an annual fund of £12000 to their relief and support; but Charles II. refused to fulfil the engagements of an usurper and a tyrant. Ibid. p. 211, 212. Instigated by the king of France, the duke of Savoy expelled them from their vallies, and from his territory, in the year 1686; but, wearied of exile, a considerable body secretly returned after three years, and the duke soon afterwards quarrelling with the king of France, they were in the year 1690 again established in their original habitations, to which they invited the remainder of their number. Of their return a curious account was published in the year 1710, by Henry Arnold *pastor and colonel* of the Vaudois, the leader of the enterprise. We may judge of the simplicity of this people by the description which their leader has given of the extreme difficulty of killing one of their enemies, who, he conceived, was protected by charms. Hist. de Glorieuse Rentree des Vaudois dans leur Val-
lees, p. 349. In this narrative it is stated that, to the number of fourteen thousand, they had been thrown into different prisons of Piedmont, where they were reduced to about three thousand, when they were permitted to retire into Swisserland agreeably to a treaty concluded by the duke with the Protestant cantons. Before they effected their return from exile, they had

made two unsuccessful attempts, and after the second were obliged to retire from the cantons of Berne and Zurich, where they had been sheltered. On this occasion more than eight hundred persons went to Brandenburg; the rest spread themselves into the country of the Grisons, on the frontiers of Wirtemburgh, and in some places of the Palatinate. The Palatinate they quitted on account of the quarrels between the duke of Orleans, and the elector-palatine, as they became apprehensive of the French; this party then returned to Swisserland, where they were received through compassion; and eight or nine hundred, of whom more than two hundred were necessarily abandoned, assembled on the southern side of the lake of Geneva, and having effected a passage, reentered by force their original country, in which they were at the end of nine months quietly settled.

Such was the subsequent history of this interesting society of Christians. They had maintained the tradition of a purer form of Christianity; and their distinct preservation might afterwards have served only to form them into, what Geneva has been less properly denominated, a Rome of Protestantism.

(c) Religionem nostram, et omnium Latinae ecclesiae Christianorum fidem, laici ex Suavia, Suicia, et Bavaria, humiliare voluerunt; homines seducti ab antiqua progenie simplicium ho-

minum, qui Alpes, et viciniam habitant, et semper amant antiqua. In Suaviam, Bavariam, et Italiam borealem sæpe intrant illorum (ex Suiciâ) mercatores, qui biblia ediscunt memoriter, et ritus ecclesiæ aversantur, quos credunt esse novas. Nolunt imagines venerari, reliquias sanctorum aversantur, olera comedunt, raro masticantes carnem, alii numquam. Appellamus eas iccirco Manichæos. Horum quidam ab Hungariâ ad eos convenerunt, &c. Planta, vol. 1. p. 93.

(d) Henault, speaking of the year 1156, and some subsequent years, says that these provinces were continually the theatre of private wars among the several princes and lords, all of them vassals of the crown, but too powerful to be restrained by the royal authority.

(e) Plato taught the doctrine of a trinity consisting of the supreme Being, his reason or *logos*, and a soul of the world. But this was not a trinity composed of three subsistences in one divine essence: the *logos* was according to him the reason of God, considered as containing within itself ideas, or intelligible forms; and the soul of the world he conceived to be a subordinate nature compounded of intelligence and matter. Bruckeri lib. 2. part. 2. cap. 6. sect. 1, § 23.

(f) The ancient *magi*, of whose system Zoroaster was probably but the reformer, held

) that there were two eternal Beings, God and Matter, and that Matter was animated, and possessed a power of producing beings subject to its own imperfections; they seem even to have acknowledged in the region of Matter a chief or prince, who had in this region a power almost equal to that which God had in his own kingdom. *Hist. de Manichée par Beausobre*, tome 1. p. 162, 168.

(g) Such is the statement of Mosheim, vol. 1. p. 300. Beausobre, tome 1. p. 263, &c. admits that he availed himself of the promise of the Comforter, but denies that he ever assumed to be himself the Comforter. Augustine remarks, that the promises of Christ had furnished the Manicheans with a pretext for saying, either that Manes was the Comforter, or that the Comforter was in Manes. The two propositions are indeed very different, as Beausobre has observed, the latter being consistent with the supposition of the simple humanity of this impostor. He always described himself as the apostle of Christ; but he appears to have conceived, agreeably to the representation of Mosheim, that the Comforter was an apostle favoured with an especial inspiration, and not the Holy Spirit itself.

The great error of Manes was that he supposed matter to be eternal, and to possess life, movement, and sensibility; from which it fol-

lowed, that God was not necessary for forming organised and animated bodies. Beausobre, tome 1. p. 495. When Augustine disputed with the Pelagians, he agreed with the Manicheans in his notion of the enslavement of the will, except in regard to the origin of its servitude, which he attributed to the corruption engendered by original sin, and the Manicheans to a bad quality, eternally inherent in matter. Ibid. tome 2. 448.

(h) He rejected all the books of the Old Testament, and from the New the Acts of the Apostles: nor does the canon of the sect appear to have admitted the second epistle of Peter, the epistle of Jude, the second and third of John, or the Apocalypse. The Old Testament he appears to have rejected because it was not consistent with his philosophical system: the Acts of the Apostles he probably chose to reject because it contained an account of the fulfilment of the promise of the Comforter; though the cause may have been simply that this book had not in the eastern church as much authority as the Gospels and the Epistles. The other parts of the New Testament which he did not acknowledge, were probably not in his time, nor long afterwards, acknowledged by the oriental Christians, and on this account probably had not come under his consideration. Beausobre, liv. 1. ch. 3, 5.

(i) Petrus Siculus has enumerated six heresies of the Paulicians. 1. They maintained the existence of two deities, the one evil and the creator of this world, the other good, called *πατερ σπουδασιος*, the author of that which is to come. 2. They refused to worship the Virgin, and asserted that Christ brought his body from heaven. 3. They rejected the Lord's Supper. 4. They also rejected the adoration of the Cross. 5. They denied the authority of the Old Testament; but admitted the New, except the epistles of Peter, and perhaps the Apocalypse. 6. They did not acknowledge the order of priests. Hallam, vol. 2. p. 528. Mosheim, remarks, that they were distinguished from the Manicheans; 1. in not having an ecclesiastical government administered by bishops, priests and deacons; 2. in receiving all the books of the New Testament except the epistles of Peter; 3. in having their copies of the Gospel free from all interpolation. *Eccles. Hist.* vol. 2. p. 367. It might be added that they rejected the pretended mission and the spurious gospel of Manes.

(k) Erant quidam Ariani, quidam Manichæi, quidam etiam Waldenses sive Lugdunenses, qui licet inter se dissides, omnes tamen in animarum perniciem contra fidem catholicam conspirabant; et illi quidem Waldenses contra alios acutissime disputant. Du Chesne, tom. 5.

p. 666. Alanus, in his second book, where he treats of the Waldenses, charges them principally with disregarding the authority of the church, and preaching without a regular mission. It is evident however from the acts of the Inquisition, that they denied the existence of purgatory ; and I should suppose that, even at that time, they had thrown off most of the popish system of doctrine, which is so nearly connected with clerical wealth and power. The difference made in these records between the Waldenses and Manichean sects shows that the imputations cast upon the latter were not indiscriminate calumnies. See Limborch, p. 201 and 268. Hallam, vol. 2. p. 532.

(l) The cause of the former of these distinctions probably was that the Greek language continued to be the living speech of the Greeks, whereas the Latin, having ceased to be the language of Italy, was become peculiar to the clergy : the cause of the other was probably that the Greek church had not admitted the doctrine of transubstantiation, of which the retrenchment of the cup appears to have been a consequence.

(m) It has been remarked by the translator of Mosheim, that this must be understood only in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of Rome, and the corruptions of the clergy ; it being certain that Huss

adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two sermons, which he had prepared for the council of Constance. Eccles. Hist. vol. 3. p. 410, note.

(n) So far indeed was it from being transient, that the Hussites have been represented as very numerous in Bohemia at no distant period. Some think, says Riesbeck, that a fourth part of the inhabitants are of this sect, which has also spread widely in Moravia. Scarce four years are past, he adds, since above ten thousand farmers made a little stand to recover their freedom of opinion, but they were soon quieted, and the thing had no further consequences. Travels through Germany, vol. I. p. 412. Dubl. 1787.

(o) This representation is justified by his own acknowledgment. *Quædam noxia victoria pœne mihi semper in disputationibus proveniebat, disserenti cum Christianis imperitis; quo successu creberrimo gliscebant adolescentis animositas, et impetu suo in pervicaciæ magnum malum imprudenter vergebat.* Aug. de duabus Anim. Bayle, art. *Augustin*.

(p) This appears from various passages quoted by the Bishop of Lincoln, Refutation of Calvinism, p. 376, &c. Ambrose has on this occasion quoted the words of Paul: "whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate." Rom. ch. 8. v. 29. He might also have cited

those of Peter, which are yet more explicit: "elect according to the foreknowledge of God." Ep. ch. 1. v. 2. As it is unreasonable to refer the foreknowledge of God to his present consciousness of his own actual purposes, such an application involving a direct contradiction, it must relate to the future conduct of men, foreseen as the ground of the divine determinations; and therefore these determinations cannot be, as the Calvinists represent them, *irrespective*, or void of all reference to the actions of men.

(q) *Decretum quidem horribile fateor; inficiari tamen nemo poterit, quin præsciverit Deus quem exitum esset habiturus homo, antequam ipsum conderet, et ideo præsciverit, quia decreto suo sic ordinarat.* Instit. lib. 3. cap. 23. sect. 7. Can the love of God consist with a doctrine admitted to deserve such an epithet? The love of God is the love of infinite goodness.

(r) In this council, besides the bishops, sat and voted, not only the chiefs of monasteries, but the ambassadors of all Christian princes, the deputies of universities, a multitude of inferior theologians, and even doctors of law. It was agreed that the ambassadors could not vote upon articles of faith, but only on questions relative to the settlement of the church. But ecclesiastics of the second order were allowed to vote ge-

nerally. To counteract also the superior number of the Italian bishops, the council was divided into four nations; the Italian, the German, the French, and the English, and with equal rights. Hallam, vol. 2. p. 106. The Spaniards, who afterwards acceded to the council, were admitted as a fifth nation. Hist. du Concile de Constance, tome 2. p. 36, &c.

(s) Another general council was to be assembled at the end of five years, a third at the end of seven more, and from that time a council was regularly to be convened at the end of each interval of ten. Hallam, vol. 2, p. 109.

(t) "Gerson, the most eminent theologian of his age, and the *corruptor* of the party that opposed the transalpine principles, was deeply concerned in this atrocious business." Ibid. p. 112.

(u) "In this resistance (to the despotism of Rome) England was not only the first engaged, but the most consistent, her free parliament preventing, as far as the times permitted, that wavering policy, to which a court is liable; and it is a satisfactory proof of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the legislature, that in the concordate made by Martin V. at the council of Constance with the English nation, we find no mention of reservations of benefices, of *annates*, and the other principal grievances of that age: our ancestors declining to accept by compe-

mise with the pope any modification, or even confirmation, of the statute-law." Ibid. p. 113. Nor was England less forward in opposing the domestic usurpations of the clergy, being influenced by a peculiar hostility arising from the principles of Wicliffe. The house of commons more than once endeavoured, agreeably to the plan of that reformer, to seize for the public exigencies the temporalities of the church, but was resisted by Henry IV, whose policy was to support the prelates. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction also was kept in better control than formerly by the judges of common law, who through rather a strained construction of the statute of *præmunire* extended its penalties to the spiritual courts, when they transgressed their limits. The privilege of clergy in criminal cases still remained, but it was acknowledged not to comprehend high treason. Ibid. p. 114. France has been distinguished from other members of the Roman communion by the liberties of her church, which however were less complete than those of the church of England, as the *annates* were left to the Roman see by the concordate of Francis I. Ibid. p. 117, 118. In regard to the national hierarchy France began the work later than England, but in the beginning of the sixteenth century she proceeded farther, the parliament of Paris having introduced the appeal because of abuse, which operated even in cases

acknowledged to belong to the ecclesiastical courts, whereas the English writ of prohibition restrained them only from interfering in matters not belonging to their cognisance. Ibid. p. 180, 181.—In Germany the final concordate of Aschaffenburg, concluded in the year 1448, surrendered a great part of the independence, for which that country had contended: the pope retained his *annates*, or at least a sort of tax in their place; instead of reserving benefices arbitrarily, he obtained the positive right of collation during six alternate months in each year; and though episcopal elections were restored to the chapters, he continued to nominate in the case of translation, or if any person canonically unfit were presented to him for confirmation. Ibid. p. 115. It seems that Germany was not sufficiently a single government for any effort of resistance against the domestic power of the clergy.—The Castilian church was anciently almost independent of Rome, but after many encroachments the code of laws promulgated by Alfonso X, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, had incorporated a great part of the Decretals, and thus given the papal jurisprudence an authority, which it no where else possessed in national tribunals. Ibid. p. 116. The country was thus prepared for that dominion of the hierarchy, which has governed it in more modern times: but the pontiffs ap-

pear to have failed in their attempts to establish their authority in Spain until the accession of Charles had connected that country with the empire and with the papacy; it is certain that Spain was active in restraining the abuses of the pontifical authority at the councils of Constance and Basle, and even at that of Trent.

In reviewing the various fortune of the papal dominion in these several countries, we perceive *England* already preparing herself for that temperate and orderly separation, which after another century she accomplished; and *Germany* baffled in her efforts for independence, to be excited in the great struggle of the following century by the irritation of the hundred grievances, a statement of which was presented to *Adrian VI.* by the diet of *Nuremberg*: we see *France* on the other hand so moderating that authority as to render tolerable the control, to which it was her fortune to be permanently subjected; and *Spain* adopting into her national law so much of the principles of ecclesiastical dominion, that the people, notwithstanding their independent spirit, were trained to become in other circumstances the slaves of the clergy.

(v) It was established in the Decretals that an oath disadvantageous to the church is not binding. *Urban VI.*, advanced to the papacy

in the year 1378, issued the following solemn and general declaration against keeping faith with heretics: *Attendentes quod hujusmodi confœderationes, colligationes, et ligæ seu conventiones, factæ cum hujusmodi hæreticis seu schismatici, postquam tales effecti erant, sunt temerariæ, illicitæ, et ipso jure nullæ, (etsi forte ante ipsorum lapsum in schisma, seu hæresim, initæ, seu factæ fuissent) etiam si forent juramento vel fide data firmatæ, aut confirmatione apostolica, vel quâcumque firmitate aliâ roboratæ, postquam tales ut præmittitur, sunt effecti.* Rymer, t. vii. p. 352, 353.

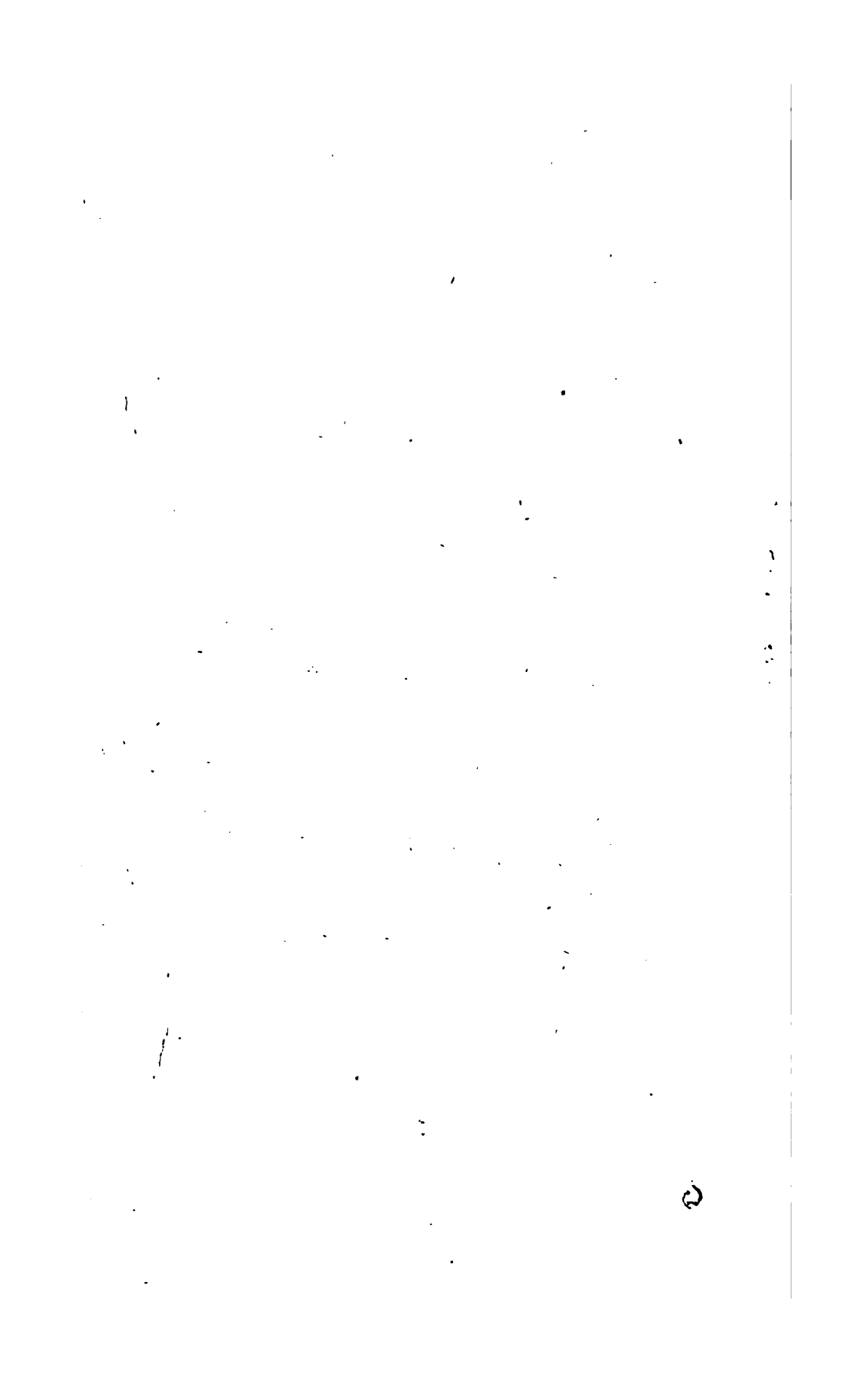
(w) Mr. Turner (hist. of England, vol. 2. p. 432.) has inferred from an anecdote recorded by Luther of himself, that he had been excited by the writings of Huss to attempt the reformation of Germany; but all which we know of the slow progress of this reformer in emancipating his mind from the shackles of the Romish religion, is inconsistent with the supposition, that any permanent impression had been made upon his mind, except indeed that he may have learned a better mode of explaining the scriptures than that which was then generally used. "When I studied at Erfurd," says he, "I found in the library of the convent a book entitled the Sermons of John Huss: I had a great curiosity to know what doctrines that arch-heretic had propagated. My astonishment

at the reading of them was incredible.—I could not comprehend for what cause they had burned so great a man, who explained the scriptures with so much gravity and dexterity. But as the very name of Huss was held in so great abomination, that I imagined the sky would fall, and the sun be darkened, if I made honourable mention of him, I shut the book with no little indignation. This however was my comfort, that he had written *this perhaps before he fell into heresy*; for I had not yet heard what had passed at the council of Constance.” L’Enfant, tome 1. p. 26. Even in the year 1523, when some of the Bohemians came to him, and explained their doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, he declared that he only then ceased to consider them as heretics, still however mentioning some particulars, in which he conceived that their doctrine required correction. Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutheranismo, p. 276. Lipsiæ 1694.

A considerable portion of this work is now placed before the public, the history of the world having been reviewed through ten of the thirteen centuries, through which the enquiry proposed to extend. The three remaining centuries are indeed those in which the system of

Europe received a distinct arrangement, and its influence on the other regions of the world began to be manifested. But though, to resume the metaphor which concluded the former publication, the pediment has not yet been placed upon the columns, nor the edifice crowned with its dome, the general plan of the building may now perhaps be sufficiently comprehended, the order of its architecture be perceived, and a judgment be formed whether, with all its acknowledged imperfections, it may be expected to prove, when completed, a temple in which man may not unsuitably venerate the moral providence of God.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.







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